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COMPITUM;

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OR,

THE MEETING OF THE WAYS

AT THE

Catholic Church.

THE THIRD BOOK.

LONDON:
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MDCCCL.

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The receipts of this volume are for the poor, who are visited by the same Conference of St. Vincent of Paul.

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cat—as Pliny says[*], and the vines which here entwine their slender branches with every giant trunk, seem to represent the sweet bonds that connect together affectionately all who wander along the smiling roads on which we are now entering.

It may be an imperceptible advance to strike here into the road of friends, which, passing under the hawthorn in the dale, leads so near to spots with which the preceding walks of youth have already rendered us familiar; but it is a path which is generally followed before arriving at the more grave scenes through which we shall shortly have to pass. And the forest itself seems to propose the theme; for there is something about these white-thorns, never changing with years, like other trees that soon grow out of men's knowledge, but appearing always to be just the same, and ready to welcome back those who once knew them, that disposes the wanderer to think upon the friendship which he wishes to be, like them, constant. Men are not like oaks that thrive best when they stand alone, though even that tree grows crooked when quite isolated. "Solitude and life, without friends, are full of fear," says the Roman sage[†]. The Basques have a proverb in the same sense, "The rich man," they say, "who lives without making friends, is like a wanderer asleep on the brink of Picatu," which is a precipice in the Pyrenees: and the French agreeing with them said, with still the same intention, "homme seul est viande à loup[‡]." Against nature and antiquity objecting, Alphonso, king of Portugal, replied to his wiser counsellors, "Habemus pecunias quæ quidem sunt omnibus amicis et propinquis fideliores[§];" to whom in consequence might have been addressed the last words of Hercules in the tragedy—

> *ὅστις δὲ πλοῦτον ἢ σθένος μᾶλλον φίλων*
> *ἀγαθῶν πεπᾶσθαι βούλεται, κακῶς φρονεῖ*[||].

Livy and Cicero use the word "necessarius" to signify a friend[¶], from the principle probably that is so quaintly expressed by the old French author who says, "Souvent sont plus fors deux amis que ne soient quatre ennemis[**]," though some of the ancients felt with Cicero, that "if utility were the sole grounds of friendship, it might be doubted whether farms and houses are not preferred by men." The necessity they all recognized was the having

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[*] xvii. 18.

[†] Cicero de Finibus, i. 20.

[‡] Le Roux de Lincy, Livre des Proverbes, F.

[§] Marinei Siculi de Reb. Hispan. lib. xix.

[||] Herc. Furens, 1425.

[¶] Lib. iii. 12. lib. xiii. Epist. 40.

[**] Stans puer ad mensam, quatrains moraux.

some one to whom they could speak without restraint, "quicum joca, seria, ut dicitur, quicum arcana, quicum occulta omnia*;" or, as Cicero says elsewhere, "quibuscum possint familiares conferre sermones†." Some Christian moralists, in times subsequent to the decline of the schools, exaggerating, or misinterpreting perhaps, if one may venture to say so, the rules of ascetic perfection, or possibly even changing them a little to suit the poverty of unhappy times, have attempted to oppose the general voice of mankind with respect to the value of friendship. Mistaking for general the particular directions given to the holy inhabitants of cloisters, where in reality, all being dearest friends, any especial friendships, like partialities in an ordinary family, would have a factious tendency, they pretend without distinctions to disdain the bonds of friendship, as appertaining to the vulgar, appearing thus to some as if they sought to be more austere than the law, more exact than Moses, more spiritual than God himself, who delivered these solemn words, which the Catholic Church reads in Passion-week,—

> "Diliges amicum tuum sicut teipsum,
> Ego Dominus. Leges meas custodite‡."

But if we survey the whole extent of Catholic philosophy in its magnificent domains, comprehensive as truth, we shall find that the depreciation of friendship rightly understood forms no part of its character. It follows the primal traditions of the human race; it follows the holy Scripture; it follows nature, or rather the Author of nature, who, while clothed in our humanity, recognized and experienced friendship; for, as the Père de Ligny observes, "As man, our Lord had a natural love for some, as for Martha and her sister Mary, and their brother Lazarus, founded on relationship, familiarity, sympathy; love of esteem and complaisance, founded on inclination and manners; love of gratitude, founded on proofs of attachment and service; therefore such loves cannot be sinful§." How many especial friends are saluted by the elect vessel at the end of his Epistle to the Romans—Phebe, Prisca, and Aquila, Epenetus his beloved, Mary, Andronicus, and Junius, Ampliatus most beloved, Urbanus and Stachys, Apelles, those that are of Aristobulus's household, Herodion, and those that are of Narcissus's household, Tryphena and Tryphosa, Persis the dearly beloved, Rufus and his mother, Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes and the brethren with them, Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas, and the saints that are with them‖!

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* Cicero de Finibus, ii. 26.

† De Off. ii.

‡ Ed. Lib. Levitici 19.

§ Hist. de J. C.

‖ xvi.

And again, at the end of his Epistle to the Colossians—Onesimus a most beloved and faithful brother, Aristarchus, and Mark the cousin-german of Barnabas, and Jesus that is called Justus, Epaphras, and Luke the most dear physician, and Demas. Accordingly the Catholic religion, warm and diffusive of all good as the heart of that chosen one, in the most express manner recognizes the excellence of friendship, which, to use the words of Peter of Blois, it qualifies "as glory for the rich, riches for the poor, a country for exiles, virtue for the weak, life for the dead, and even a certain passage from men to God—Amicitia quidam gradus est hominibus ad Deum *." Not to speak of the many Catholic authors who in ancient times, like our Ælred, composed treatises on Christian friendship, we find proof at every step that the force of this especial bond has been always practically recognized by those who were of the household of faith. What tender affection, in the beaten way of friendship, united St. Germain of Auxerre and St. Mychomer the Irish monk, whom he desired to have as his travelling companion †! When that holy bishop took leave of another friend, the old Priest Sénateur, at Alise, "My dear brother," said he, "farewell; and for ever I commend thee to God, half of my soul, farewell. May the divine goodness grant that we may recognize one another without confusion at the great day of judgment; for I feel that in this life we shall meet no more!" Bede furnishes another striking example, when he relates how the two abbots of Weremouth, Benedict and Sigfrid, were brought together in their last sickness, the latter being carried to the cell where the former lay, when the heads of the two holy men were placed on the same pillow, when neither would have had strength to kiss each other, if their faces had not been placed together; a tearful spectacle, cries Bede, to see them thus fulfilling the office of brotherly love ‡! No, no, if we wish to find an apology for a heart not perfectly developed as to all innocent affections, and to cast suspicions upon friendship itself, we should do well to apply to any source rather than to Catholic records.

The Benedictine family, which cherishes with such interest the memory of a Placide and his companions, martyrs, the friends of its founder, could alone, from its own annals, set this question practically at rest. What friends were St. Benedict and Servandus! and how often were entire communities associated in the same especial bonds! But during the whole way, as long as we are on this road, we meet examples of friendship to attest, in a manner more complete than could be shown by

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* Petr. Blesens. de Amicit. Chris. c. 2.

† Le Feuve, Hist. de St. Germ. l'Auxer.

‡ Hist. Abb. Wiremuth.

any deduction from principles, the tendency of the true discipline in this respect. Thus, to notice but a few, we may remark the friendship of Cardinal Baronius and the holy preacher Tarugi, that of St. Paulinus of Aquileia, and Charlemagne, and again, that between the same Paulinus and Alcuin, who addresses him in the lines—

> " O Pauline Pater, pastor, patriarcha, sacerdos,
> Pars animæ melior, nostræ pars inclita vitæ."

In the seventh century we find the fellow-disciples of St. Leger, the young men who were nourished in the palace of Clotaire II. and Dagobert, preserving their early friendships, and testifying their affection by presents and by letters which have come down to us. St. Eloi consoles himself amidst mundane vicissitudes by thinking of his old friend Desiderius of Cahors; and he sees with admiration that their love does not grow old. Paul of Verdun expresses the same persevering friendship for the same Desiderius. Dagobert, himself and Sigebert, bore the remembrance of their former days spent together, of their common table, of their studies side by side. "Preserve for me," writes Desiderius to Audeon, "my ancient friend, my Audeon whom I so loved in my youth. Let us both preserve, with our Eloi, that inseparable charity which has always united us. Let us help each other with our mutual prayers, that after being comrades at the court of an earthly king, we may be worthy to live together in the celestial palace of the King on high*." Again we find Ives de Chartres writing to Samson bishop of Worcester, in terms very expressive of the warm personal affection which unites the hearts of holy men, though far separated from each other†. Let us open some letters of this kind, and we shall find proof that faith, without abatement of its comprehensive charity, requires no dulling of our palm with entertainment of all alike, that it recognized even the Homeric bonds which Telemachus feels binding him to the son of Nestor, when he says—

> ——— ξεῖνοι δὲ διαμπερὲς εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι
> Ἐκ πατέρων φιλότητος· ἀτὰρ καὶ ὁμήλικές ἐσμεν.
> Ἧδε δ' ὁδὸς καὶ μᾶλλον ὁμοφροσύνῃσιν ἐνήσει ‡.

—that it smiles on those who, like Scipio and Lælius, at Cajeta, are caught wandering together on the sea-shore to pick up shells and pebbles; and that it does not even absolutely obstruct the source which led to the friendship of Theseus and Pirithoüs,

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* Dom. Pitia, Hist. de S. Léger, 117.

† Ivon. Car. Epist. 207.

‡ Od. xv. 196.

who were no sooner confronted than they were so pleased with each other's countenance that they thought no more of fighting, but Pirithoüs held out his hand, and Theseus prayed him to become his friend and his brother; for we read in the most austere monastic writers, that "external corporal endowments, as youth, beauty, gracefulness, may be permitted to enter as a motive into the love that we bear to others; since such corporal perfections being gifts of God, may lawfully, as such, be motives of love, namely, to those that are so perfect, as that they can use them as steps to ascend by them to a higher and purer love of God in and for them, who is beauty itself*." But let us continue to mark examples, for this whole road, as if with sweetest flowers, is embalmed with their fragrance. Sidonius Apollinaris writes to Simplicius, saying, "In similitude of mind he was my brother and my friend. How often have I mingled with him in serious and in playful things! We were youths together—at ball, at draughts, in the woods, in the race, in the hunt, in swimming, we had contention, holy contention I may say, because always with love—sancta semper ambobus, quia manente caritate contentio. Afterwards, as we grew older, when he had passed to the clerical order, from being at first amiable he came to be venerable†." To another friend, Donitius, he says, "All that was wanting to the spectacle was your presence; for not to see you, while I saw the things which are beautiful in your eyes, added to my impatience ‡:" and to another, Ommatius, he says—

"Tu tamen ut venias, petimus: dabit omnia Christus,
Hic mihi qui patriam fecit amore tuo."

The complaints of friendship are no where found more affectingly expressed, than by such men who seem to say with Seneca—In amicis injuriam vocemus negligentiam. Ausonius thus reproves the holy hermit for not replying to his letters, "The rocks even," he says, "answer man; caverns and forests have an echo which comes back to us; the rivulets murmur on the banks; the hedges which nourish the bees of Hybla resound with a pleasing murmur; the willows on the rivers' edge have their melody, and the waving pines converse in trembling accents with the winds. Paulinus alone maintains an obstinate silence." Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, writes under similar impressions to Leuthericus archbishop of Sens, saying, "Quod me amicum appellas gratanter adnuerem si te quoque exhiberes amicum§." But to such men this sweet light of friendship, however liable to

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* F. Baker. Sancta Sophia, t. ii. § 2. c. 5.

† Sidon. Apoll. lib. iv. epist. 4.

‡ Lib. iv. 20.

§ Fulberti Epist. 28.

be obscured for some interval by the lapse of time and separation, is sure to break forth at length, proving that it was only eclipsed for a moment, as when on the unexpected arrival of some college companion, almost forgotten, we find proof that he has always been loved unconsciously in a deep mysterious corner of our heart, which is as full of impenetrable secrets as the memory itself. In fine, for it would be endless to pursue examples, no where are such images of perfect friendship found as in the pages of the ancient Catholic literature, of which the instance in the beautiful mystery, once so popular and renowned, of Amis and Amille, would be sufficient to convince the greatest admirer of the old heroic world, that the Catholic Church has provision also for his peculiar cravings.

On this path, therefore, leading to Catholicism in all its ancient glories, we find in abundance, as we still observe wherever it has power, friends; and if we ask, on what other road besides that which keeps faith in constant view can the desire, so natural to the human heart, of possessing them be realized? truly our conclusion must be, that by the failure and poverty of others, as well as by the success and riches of Catholics, in regard to the treasures of friendship, men are directed to the central truth as to its source. I am aware that the ancient Romans could write beautifully De amicitiæ vinculo—and could even supply some examples of its force, as Sempronius Gracchus and C. Blosius, and Pomponius and Lætorius, Rheginus and Q. Servilius Cæpio, Volumnius and Lucullus, Petronius and Cælius, Ser. Terentius and D. Brutus, Lælius and Scipio[*]; but however unwilling we may be to ascribe much to the pomp of orators, we must observe what pains were taken by the ancients not to leave us in ignorance of their own conviction, that in general friendship was but an image in the mind corresponding to no reality in life. Octavius Cæsar opposed himself during two days to save his friend Cicero, but on the third day yielded and consented to his death. Tacitus relates the words of a certain general, saying, "Cum Vespasiano mihi vetus amicitia, et dum privatus esset amici vocabamur," which Sidonius Apollinaris cites, writing to Polemius, a descendant of the historian, and then adds, "Why do I repeat this? in order to remind you that on becoming a public man you ought not to forget private grace[†]." The ancients, after all, knew only of rare exceptions to the experience which yields a comment to the text. How many, they exclaim with Ulysses, are friends to-day and foes to-morrow!—

ἦ κάρτα πολλοὶ νῦν φιλοι, καὖθις πικροί[‡].

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[*] Val. Max. lib. iv.

[†] Epist. lib. iv. 14.

[‡] Sophocles, Ajax, 1359.

All things, they observe, are changed by all-conquering time—

> καὶ πνεῦμα ταὐτὸν οὔποτ' οὔτ' ἐν ἀνδράσι,
> φίλοις βέβηκεν, οὔτε πρὸς πόλιν πόλει [*].

Sophocles therefore says, that to most men the port of friendship is of little use—

> ——— τοῖς πολλοῖσι γὰρ,
> βροτῶν ἄπιστός ἐσθ' ἑταιρίας λιμήν [†].

And Æschylus ascribes to Agamemnon a still more melancholy conviction, where he says—

> εἰδὼς λέγοιμ' ἂν, εὖ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι,
> ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον, εἴδωλον σκιᾶς,
> δοκοῦντας εἶναι κάρτα πρευμενεῖς ἐμοί [‡].

The world in modern times has no scruple in proclaiming the conformity of its own experience with these heathen views of the insecurity of friendship. Its votaries are familiar with desolating cries, like those of the modern poet—

> "Leave me not wild, and drear, and comfortless,
> As silent lightning leaves the starless night;"

or those of our great elder bard, "most friendship is feigning," not less premeditated from being conveyed amidst the levity of a song. Hubert de Bourg, when he fell into disgrace with the king, had occasion to verify this sad testimony; for amongst all his supposed friends one only remained constant to him, and had courage to intercede for him: but he was not of the world, for it was Lucas archbishop of Dublin, who then never ceased imploring Henry III. with tears in his favour [§]—πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μέστη γέγονε προδότων. Such are the facts confronting us on this path; and if we examine the cause, wonder will be reserved for observing those who are surprised at them. How should it be otherwise? since with many, we are told, "it is the same spirit which refuses to desert a friend and to forgive an enemy." The knot which such men make they will themselves unknit. Cicero says of Anthony and Dolabella, "The similitude of a most impure nature and of a most shameful life made them friends [||]." Facti sunt amici Herodes et Pilatus in ipsa die [¶]. Viewed with the eyes of a renovated nature, such are the grounds of many friendships still, founded only upon passions,

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[*] Œd. Col. 619.

[†] Ajax 683.

[‡] Æsch. Agam. 837.

[§] Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1232.

[||] Phil. xi.

[¶] Luc. xxiii.

and even sometimes not on them, but, as an old writer says, "more a policy than an affection, and if men wish to live peaceably with others, it is only because they fear to disturb their own ease *." To seek fellowship with any of the worldly race is, to use the imagery of fable, to be a comrade with the wolf and fox. What can be expected from professions there? The blessed apostolic man and bishop, Leonisius, said one day to King Theodoric, "The rustic fable relates that the wolf, ascending a mountain, called all its children together that were of an age to hunt, and said to them, Look around, and as far as ever your eyes can reach, you have no friends, only a few who are of your kin †." Men without truth's communion are frequently in this condition, like the Envy and Detraction of Spenser, "agreeing in bad will and cancred kynd."

"Ne certes, can that friendship long endure,
However gay and goodly be the style,
That doth ill cause or evill end enure,
For virtue is the band that bindeth hearts most sure."

But all, you say, are not of the bad, though they may have lost their way, wandering through this forest. True, indeed, but yet from a shallow source the stream will often as abruptly end. Of Menalcas and Daphnis the old poet can only say, "Both had auburn hair, both were beardless; both could play upon the flute, and both could sing ‡." Here will be great professions—

μή μοι γᾶν Πέλοπος, μή μοι χρύσεια τάλαντα
Εἴη ἔχειν, μηδὲ πρόσθε θέειν ἀνέμων.

But I will sing under this rock by your side, looking on the Sicilian sea—*ἐσορῶν τὰν Σικελὰν ἐς ἅλα.* Sweet and secure picture of youthful friendship, if with truth, and its attendant holiness allied! but otherwise what is it? "You seem to use friends as flowers," says Sidonius Apollinaris to Polemius, "so long as they are fresh, you are pleased with them §." So it must be; for the amity that wisdom knits not, folly may easily untie; therefore, "no one speaks," said the ancient moralist, "of the intimates of Sardanapalus; but who has not heard of the friendship of Damon and Pythias, who were both initiated in the rites of the Pythagoræan wisdom ‖?" But you would be friends with elder persons, the highly respectable, amiable, grave men, whose conversation is the charm of high society—

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* Ægid. Gabrielus Specimina moralis diabolicæ, § ix.

† S. Greg. Turon. Append. lib. xi.

‡ Theocrit. η'.

§ Epist. lib. iv. 14.

‖ Val. Max. lib. iv.

> "Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici;
> Expertus metuit *."

Fond youth, it would be often better to consort with the tree that casts its shade over the river's bank, as when you waited for the minnow with some child. The cavities of the decayed trunk might please you still; but the irregularities of a human hollow heart are only horrible. "A certain man," says the author of the Magnum Speculum, "who had two false friends, on setting out for Cologne, asked the first what he should bring back as a present, and was answered, a mantle; and putting the same question to the second, was asked for a tunic; and though he cared little for his wife, on asking her, she told him to bring back sense and wisdom to deliver him from his passions. So he reached Cologne, where he bought the merchandise, but the sense and wisdom he could not buy—for they were not on sale there. However, he related what had passed to his host, and asked what he should do, who advised him to return to the first friend, as one who had lost all his money, and thence to visit the second, and then to return to his wife. He did so. The first friend reproached and drove him out, bidding him go home; the second did the same; but when he came to his wife, she embraced him, and pitied him, and told him to trust in celestial treasures; and thus did he find sense and wisdom from having visited the city of the three kings †."

To be driven out is violent, and what are the detractions that afterwards succeed, never ceasing through a long protracted life!

> "For sooth is said, and tride in each degree,
> Faint friends, when they fall out, most cruell foemen bee."

"If thou joyn friendship with men of the world," says Antonio de Guevara, "they will not act like the rich and noble persons who attended our Lord after his death. They will rather put thee on the cross than take thee from the cross; rather turn thee naked than shroud thee; bury thy fame and credit before they bury thy body; defile thee rather than anoint thee with sweet balm ‡." If we descend now to these later times, and seek for friendship without the pale of fervent Catholicity, we shall, I believe, be at a loss to discover it in the ancient substance or form, if we pass beyond the limits of youth and of the school. The hearts of old gave hands; but our new heraldry is—hands, not hearts. "O Lord, Lord! it is a hard matter for friends to meet, but mountains may be removed with earthquakes, and so encounter." So he said, but whether any would

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* Hor. Ep. i. 18.

† Joan. Mag. Spec. 12.

‡ The Myst. of Mt. Calvary.

now desire the convulsion, or even the moral change that would transfer the elevations of pride, let the forest judge. The greeting rather is in that Shakspearian line—"God be with you, let's meet as little as we can;" that is, perhaps, unless I am to be paid five guineas a day for meeting you, according to the general rule of my profession. The truth is, that now it argues no singular infelicity to complain, with a later poet, "that we met so rarely and so coldly, even in our youth." Once left college, we are even told that it is fond to expect the friendships formed in it to continue. Hurried on by the events and occupations of life in the world, the meeting itself, if it should take place, no more recalls the manner of shaking hands used by Don Diego Laynez, as commemorated in the old romance, beginning, "Cuidara Diego Laynez," when he tried the courage of his sons by the force of his pressure, and found that of his youngest, Rodrigues, afterwards the Cid, sufficient, than could the sentiment in its effects substantiate an answer like that of Achilles, when being asked by Ajax what had been the greatest labours of his whole life, he replied, "Those which I underwent for my friends." But why should it not be still as in the heroic world, some generous scholar will demand, "when men loved with fervour, and when we read the blood of friends mixed together, wounds touching wounds, and the dead the dead—these are the true signs of Roman friendship *." Ask, rather, how could it be so? Every one knows the passage of Atala, ending so mournfully with these words, "If a man came back to life some years after his death, I doubt if he would be seen with joy by those even who gave most tears to his memory, so quickly are formed other relations, so easily are contracted other habits, so natural is inconstancy to man, such a little thing is our life even in the heart of our friends!"

Now let us proceed towards the end of this avenue, and we shall not have taken many steps before perceiving that the principles of the Catholic religion are calculated to dispel this bitter gloom, to secure friendship, to impart to it the best direction, and to render it eternal, not as fond lovers boast, but indeed for the everlasting years. For, in the first place, it is in God that men must love their friends, if they are really to love them even for a moment: "C'est en Dieu qu'il faut nous aimer," as Silvio Pellico said, on taking leave of Valery †; therefore the Catholic faith, which unites men to God, qualifies them to become friends; and as St. Augustin says, "No one can be truly the friend of a man, who is not first the friend of truth ‡." Therefore Collius concludes, that the friends of Job were of the true

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* Val. Max. iv.

† Val. Curiosités et Anecdot. Italiennes.

‡ Ep. cii.

religion; "for who could ever believe," he asks, "that Job would rank among his friends men who were involved in the errors of the idolatrous world? *" "No private friendships can exist without charity; and we see that persons without faith are amerced of this principle. Its absence is indicated by the same signs that denote the want of oil in a machine. Whenever such men attempt to enter into relation with others, and to begin to work, as it were, they experience incredible tortures from not having the charity which facilitates union. From these efforts of their whole frame, from this cracking of all its pieces, from the irregularity of their movements, from these sharp discordant sounds of pride and vanity, and a thousand passions in collision with each other, it is evident that the oil of charity is not there, that there is friction between parts that cannot join, because the principle of union is not in them †." How is it possible, then, that friendship should be produced in the dry unanointed world, when even the common social intercourse of men loses there all grace, facility, and enjoyment, as those who have compared society under the influence of faith on the continent, and society in which it is ignored, either existing in an isolated state in the midst of the former, a kind of malignant disease, or separated by territorial limits, and invested with all the dignity of national manners, cannot but have observed. Antisthenes used to say, that those who seek good things are mutual friends; and certainly those who seek together the objects proposed by Catholicity to the intelligence must be in the most favourable condition for contracting those sweet bonds of intimate, particular, as well as universal affection, which are to be indissoluble even by death. "What is friendship?" asks Alcuin. "A similitude of souls," is the reply, which with comprehensive brevity directs us to the Catholic faith, which alone produces that similitude.

Again; the unity and conformity, in regard to manners, which are required for friendship, point, without the possibility of doubt, in the same direction; for, as the poet says,

———"In companions
That do converse and waste the time together,
Whose souls do bear an equal yoke of love,
There must be needs a like proportion
Of lineaments, of manners, and of spirit."

"Lucius Crassus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, associated together in many respects, were unable," says Pliny, "to be friends from the dissimilarity of their manners—frequentem jurgiis propter dissimilitudinem morum ‡." "Friendship," says Peter of Blois,

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* De animab. Paganorum, lib. iii. c. 9.

† Sainte-Foi.

‡ Plin. N. H. xvii.

"can only endure amongst those, qui sobrie et juste et pie vivant, desiring neither to require nor to offer any wrong, nor to do any thing which can displease God *." "Nothing," he adds, "more agrees with friendship than a certain peace and quiet tranquillity of heart †." "Patience holds a great place in friendship. It is its nurse and guardian ‡." "Friendship requires sweetness in words, hilarity in countenance, suavity in manner, and a familiar communication of thoughts conformable to the example of our Lord, where He says, Jam non dicam vos servos, vos autem dico amicos, quia quæ audivi a Patre meo nota feci vobis. In which words, as says St. Ambrose, we have a model of the true friendship that we ought to follow §." It is Catholicity, too, we must remember, which, at open war with all wrong-headedness in the form of contradiction, furnishes the yielding spirit when truth and justice are not at stake; and the old poet would therefore acknowledge how favourable it must be to friendship, for he says—

"Vincere cum possis, interdum cede sodali,
Obsequio quoniam dulces retinentur amici."

Again, we are directed to Catholicism on the road of friendship no less by the absence which faith involves of avarice, arrogance, and ambition. What is friendship in Protestant professional life according to the theory of which so many parts are to be played by the same individual, that there seems to be great danger of not sufficiently distinguishing what each requires? I touch with trembling a delicate chord. I hope it is what every one believes it to be, before he has the means of judging from experiment; something more besides a mode of extending one's interests in the world, or, in the last terms, an occasion of advancement, and of putting money into one's pocket; but, for my poor part, I think there may be some who would fain hear proof of it, lest we should conclude—

"Illud amicitiæ quondam venerabile nomen
Prostat, et in questu pro meretrice sedet ‖."

"O world, thy slippery turns! Friends now fast sworn,
Whose double bosoms seem to wear one heart,
Whose hours,—whose exercise
Are still together, who 'twin, as 'twere, in love
Unseparable, shall within this hour,
On a dissension of a doit, break out
To bitterest enmity."

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* Pet. Blesens. de Amicit. Christianâ, c. 10.
† Id. c. 13.
‡ Id. 14.
§ Id. 18.
‖ Ovid. ii.

"Friendship," says Peter of Blois, "requires an eye indifferent to riches or poverty, lowliness or elevation,—a mind which regards nothing but the gifts of God and the disposition of nature *." "The friendships of the poor," he adds, "are found more solid than those of grandees †," of whom Philip de Commines says, "they should never see each other if they wish to continue friends." Boethius accordingly consoles himself on the loss of his fortune by a consideration of the true friendships of which his fall will enable him to have proof; "for now," he says, "fortune departing, will take her own friends away along with her, and leave me my own." Where are such views found, if we do not turn our faces towards Catholicism? Cicero, if he lived in our times, might perhaps repeat his complaint, and say, with reference to what we see in every other direction, that it is impossible to find those who do not prefer honours, magistracies, and power, to friendship. As Peter of Blois says, "The friendship which originates in the pride of life is closely allied to the love of the world ‡," and like it involves contradiction and mutability; but, "amicitia nescit superbiam," says St. Ambrose §, and therefore Catholicism is again full in view along the road of those who are seeking and cultivating friendship. They cannot be insensible, moreover, to the subtle penetration with which the Catholic religion detects and denounces the vices that, under a cloak of piety, might militate against the virtue that they love; for the more men renounce the world, the more she reminds them they ought to cultivate affection for the good, and evince the sweetness of an innocent conversation. "Tenenda est cum sanctis viris," says St. Isidore, "unitas charitatis; et quantum se quisque subtrahit mundo, tanto opus est, ut se associet bonorum consortio ||." This road supplies, in fact, a view of truth in consequence of the Catholic religion having classed a main obstacle to friendship among mortal sins; for in the old popular treatises on confession, envy, which is in their company, is defined as the sin contrary to friendship ¶. "Other great obstacles to friendship," says Peter of Blois, "are an angry disposition, instability, garrulity, and suspicion; but they who subdue their passions through piety are more qualified than all others **." "If a suspicious man sees his friend speaking secretly to another, he thinks that he is betrayed by him, and if kind to another, that he is despised ††." Writing to the commander, Alphonso de Bracamento, Antonio de Guevara expressly reproves him for this defect, saying, "All the world says that you are extremely

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* De Amicit. Christ. c. xiv. † Id. xv. ‡ Id. c. 8.

§ Off. lib. iii. || S. Isid. de Sum. Bono, ii.

¶ Le Ménagier de Paris, D. i. a. 3.

** De Amicit. Christ. c. xii. †† c. xiii.

suspicious in your friendships. Seigneur, you ought to know that there is only one way in regard to friends—either to leave them altogether or to have full confidence in them; for friends are more than mere acquaintances [*]."

Thus Catholicism, not content with forming men, unlike the tyrant who, as Thrasybulus said, ought to suspect even his friend, supplied them with positive warning against the danger of incurring such a reproach, prompting the heroic words, "I hold it cowardice to rest mistrustful, where a noble heart hath pawned an open hand in sign of love." Friendship again requires the frank confidence in reproving faults or errors which faith inspires. "Amici monendi sunt et objurgendi," says St. Louis, bishop of Toulouse, "vera enim amicitia quod sentit dissimulare nescit." There are men, as St. Augustin says, "who, although they love each other in this life, and are bound in the links of faithful friendship, are yet united neither by presence of body nor fully and perfectly by consent of mind [†]." Alas! how many in lands overspread with error might repeat the exclamation of the Chorus, saying, "O that I had had a friend or relation to give me such salutary advice!" Does a Catholic become allied in bonds of affection to one of these lost wanderers? Then we can complete the sentence in regard to him, "This day a divinity comes to your aid. Accept what it offers:"

σὺ δὲ παρὼν δέχου [‡].

The desire of constancy in friendship, which is felt so intensely upon this road, points also significantly to the true discipline which, without sanctioning the exaggeration of Amille in the old mystery, who consents to kill his sons in order to cure his friend Amis from his leprosy, sets at rest the long disputes that have been held whether the three counsellors of Job were true or false friends, deciding, with Collius, "that they were true friends, since they came to him in his calamity, and endured the infection of his society during seven days and nights [§]." Faith forms men resembling in constancy the friends who are commemorated in song—

"O mihi, care quidem semper, sed tempore duro
Cognite, res postquam procubuere meæ [||]."

Or as in later times we hear—

"Thou stood'st, as stands a lonely tree,
That still unbroke, though gently bent,
Still waves with fond fidelity
Its boughs above a monument.

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[*] lib. ii.

[†] Epist. lxix.

[‡] Aristoph. Vesp. 731.

[§] De Animal. Paganorum, lib. iii. c. 8.

[||] Ovid. Trist. iii.

The winds might rend—the skies might pour,
But there thou wert, and still would'st be,
Devoted in the storniest hour
To shed thy weeping leaves o'er me."

Faith revives the friendship that was at least conceived in the heroic world, as witnessed in the grief of Achilles—

Κλαῖε, φίλου ἑτάρου μεμνημένος, οὐδέ μιν ὕπνος
ἥρει πανδαμάτωρ[*].

Or in the invitation of Vulcan—

αὔδα ὅ, τι φρονέεις· τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγέν,
εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε, καὶ εἰ τετελεσμένον ἐστί[†].

Or in the lines of Hippolytus—

οὐκ ἐγγελαστὴς τῶν ὁμιλούντων,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς οὐ παροῦσι κἄγγυς ὢν φίλοις[‡].

Thus the Church provides friends, as all other remedies, for the woes of human life; and therefore he who comes to her can say—

"No more through the world's wilderness,
Although I trod the paths of high intent,
I journeyed now: no more companionless,
Where solitude is like despair, I went."

But is not, perhaps some one will still ask, constancy in friendship found with the antagonists of Catholicity? It can be in the interest of no one to conclude that the sphere of human virtues is narrower than it is; but truth requires that we should not shut our eyes to facts which have been visible since three centuries. Whatever may be the fidelity of such men to each other, it is certain that no great dependence can be placed on their affection when it is claimed by one who resigns himself, however heroically, to the Catholic faith. Stolberg could answer this question as it is here given. This kind of mixed friendship sooner or later betrays its hollowness, as early and late instances can show. Leland, in his manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library, speaking of the holy and venerable Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, says, "Homo sane candidissimus, et amicus meus singularis;" but when the tyrant had spent his rage against our martyr, he afterwards

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[*] Il. 24.

[†] xviii. 426.

[‡] 1000.

scored the line with his pen. In fine, the inevitable and rapid disappearance of friends from each other, passing so quickly through the forest of the mortal life, will supply the last signal directing us to take refuge in that centre where souls part no more, and where love and friendship are for ever. Qui bien aime, tard oublie, says the old Catholic proverb. Against forgetfulness there were many remedies, and we may remark that the ancients themselves sought of old to relieve the bitter distress of separation with some thoughts of heaven. Menelaus, on the departure of Telemachus, gives him accordingly a vessel for sacrifice, saying—

——— ἐμέθεν μεμνημένος ἤματα πάντα [*].

The chalice, or sacred vestment, the reliquary, or holy book, or picture, as tokens of remembrance in Christian times, directed men to the Catholic religion, which found so many noble expressions for every generous sentiment of human hearts. "We ask from you," says Ives de Chartres, writing to Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, "nothing transitory, nothing which belongs to the present life; but if you could send us something pious or holy which might impress your remembrance on our mind, and excite greater devotion in us, that we humbly ask you to present to us [†]." The grief itself which no tokens, however sacred of affection, could wholly dissipate, directed men as plainly to that faith which alone could at present sanctify and finally console sorrow—

"Homo toties moritur quoties amittit suos."

Horace declares that all his happiness will perish if Mæcenas should die. Mæcenas dies, and Horace survives him but three weeks—

"Ah! te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec charus æque, nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque
Ducit ruinam."

Catholicity inspires other thoughts.

St. Gertrude, praying once for a person sick most dear to her, whom she feared to lose, heard our divine Lord say, "When a man fears to lose a beloved friend, if he offers that affliction of his heart with a perfect will, so that even if he could preserve that friend he would willingly resign him in order to comply with the divine will, he may rest assured that, after that hour, every affliction that may befall him will be profitable to his eternal

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[*] Od. iv. 592.

[†] Iv. Carn. Ep. 93.

salvation, and that his consolations after that offering will be as many as the sorrows which had been infused into his heart*." "Learn, for the love of God," says the author of The Imitation, "to relinquish a beloved friend—nec graviter feras, cum ab amico derelictus fueris, sciens quoniam oportet nos omnes tandem ab invicem separari†." Yes, sooner or later all must finish, as far as relates to this world. Has that day at last arrived; and do we hear that bitter cry of nature—

"Art thou come and gone
As the earth when leaves are dead,
As the heart when joy is fled,
I am left lone, alone?"

The Catholic Church is never more in view than in that hour, pouring into the dissolved heart the balm of its ineffable consolations. To the lines of The Imitation, above cited, the old French text adds a few words conveying that true elixir; for after repeating that we must be separated either by obedience or some other reasonable cause, or at least by death, it continues, "jusques à ce qu'en cette belle cité de paradis serons venus, de laquelle nous ne partirons jamais l'un d'avec l'autre." There is the remedy: and where, excepting within the ark, can the human intelligence feel convinced that it has found it? Do you ask still more? Do you desire,—as oh, who does not?—that even the necessity of temporary separation should be obviated? Catholicity can satisfy you; for by loving your friend sacramentally, catholically as a fellow member of the mystic body, you insure even your uninterrupted union with him; and therefore St. Augustin says, "Deus virtutum, beatus qui amat te et amicum in te. Solus enim nullum charum amittit cui omnes in illo chari sunt qui non amittitur‡." Your sweet friend departs to the bosom of Abraham, as Nebridius left St. Augustin to drink from the fountain of eternal wisdom, happy for ever; but he becomes not so inebriated from it as to forget you; since God from whom he drinks remembers you. And after all, taking another point of view, perhaps the imperfections of the best friendship while enjoyed on earth furnish a last signal. St. Gertrude never found a friend to whom, without hesitation, she could venture to notify the greatness of the spiritual revelations made to her, on account, she says, of the pusillanimity of the human heart, which is slow of believing§. Without assenting to the melancholy remark of the hermit in Atala, that "there are always some points by which two hearts do not touch each other, and that these points

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* Insinuationes Div. Pietatis seu Vit. et Revelat. S. Gertrudis Abb. lib. iii. c. 87.

† ii. 9.

‡ Confess. iv. 10.

§ Insin. Div. Piet. ii. 23.

would suffice in the end, if indefinitely protracted, to render such union insupportable," we must come to the conclusion that friendship, however true, however charming, can be perfected only in heaven. So the love of man by its deficiencies, as well as by its intensity, directs to the love of the Creator, which is perfect and which makes perfect, and consequently to that Church which is his spouse.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROAD OF UNION.

BALM and sweet healing herbs here cast a wholesome perfume all around, and testify how the supreme goodness has made careful provision for all human wants, conveying thus a lesson of universal love to men. Here we must pause awhile amid these oaks, that are identified in many imaginations with the love of country, on which we have to hear some necessary distinctions that will aid our quest; and before we reach the scenes of practical life, we have still to pass through smiling valleys that are traversed by another road of love, upon which we can well mark the fortress and main tower of the true city; journeying on perhaps more tardily than else we would for others' sake: and here some little art behoves us, as said the guide who led Dante, that our steps observe the varying flexure of the path; for the false philosopher, that dreadful Cyclops wandering on the lofty hills, will often choose a position on this way to obstruct the view of truth—

> ———— "longa est injuria, longæ
> Ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum*."

And, though we shall hereafter meet him at the head of his legions in a ranged battle, it will be well already to observe some kind of military advantages; to await him at his foragings, at his waterings, and whenever he feels himself secure. He professes to have first taught fraternity and respect for men; philanthropist is his name, led, as he affirms, by the love of humanity. Let us see whether he speaks truly, whether this is a road on which

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* Æn. i. 341.

we can lose sight of the Catholic Church, and find a surer source than it contains of affection for mankind.

These new roads also, it must be admitted, have charms to attract all who sincerely follow nature; for nothing is more congenial to the human heart than love, than those offices, as Cicero says, "quæ pertinent ad hominum caritatem, qua nihil homini esse debet antiquius*;" though it is no less true that in the ancient world there was only a faint track here indicating the passage of but the lonely wanderer, who, like Cato, "nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo." It was indeed the general opinion of the Greeks, that men owed nothing to each other without some express compact; and we may judge of the extent to which such ideas prevailed over the world, from the fact observed by Cæsar among the Germans, of whom he says, "Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt." Moreover, even while following the suggestions of nature, the paths of especial love and friendship which we followed last, pass imperceptibly into the present road, as is attested by the poet when he says—

"Whose eyes have I gazed fondly on,
And loved mankind the more."

And by St. Augustin saying, "Amicitia quoque hominum caro nodo dulcis est propter unitatem de multis animis †." And indeed, if the way which we now propose to follow should grow tedious, it is probable that we followed only false tracks before. "Quid enim amatur," to repeat the question of St. Augustin, "si charitas in odium venit ‡?" Moreover, we must be familiarized with the ground through which this road leads, if we would gain any advantage from all future wanderings; "for," as St. Augustin says, "our life being a pilgrimage through a wilderness—si non vultis in ista eremo siti mori, bibite charitatem; fons est quem voluit Dominus hic ponere, ne deficiamus in via §."

That fountain, let us now proceed to observe, is at the Catholic Church, which by its sacraments and its doctrine forms—

"The mind that, in a calm angelic mood
Of happy wisdom, meditates on good,
Harmonious thoughts, the soul by truth refined,
Entire affection for all human kind."

For already mark the flow of its pure waters. "The chief thing," says Antonio de Guevara, "which God recommends to us is charity, which you will accomplish by loving your neigh-

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* De Off. i. 43.

† Conf. ii. 1.

‡ In Ep. S. Joan. Tract. 7.

§ Ibid.

bour, not because he loves you, but because he loves God. The man charitable and compassionate may rest assured that God will hold him by the hand, so that his faith will never diminish nor his hope fail; for God will not be cruel to him who has had charity. We must love all men, or we cannot love God. The good Lord is so fond of the Christian soul, that in loving us He wishes to be alone, and when we love Him He wishes to have company, which is exactly contrary to what is required by worldly love*."

O, how charming then is the Catholic faith, which places perfection in charity, in love, and compassion, and tenderness for all men; for than the affection which arises from such sentiments can any thing be dearer or sweeter to the heart of man! "Learn," it cries, "to make others happy. Spirits, come! This is thine high reward, and when the power of imparting joy is equal to the will, the human soul seems to anticipate the joy of heaven." "Embrace the whole world in your love," says the rule of blessed Ælred; "consider how many are the good, and congratulate them; consider the evil, and lament for them; remember the misery of the poor and unhappy, and condole with them †." If such lessons prove attractive, men are drawn to Catholicity through the desire of finding them taught and practised; for in the Catholic Church alone are they uniformly and efficiently delivered. The shafts of Protestantism are not golden; they are obtuse at the end, and loaded with lead under the reed. They put love to flight. Those of the Philosophy which has followed it are found, in point of fact, to have no other office. Experience proves sufficiently that all true love of men must spring not from clubs, or conventicles, or the chairs of scorners, but from the Catholic source; and the reason must be, no doubt, that as Peter of Blois says, "All holy communion and society emanates from God to angels and men; and that from the ineffable union of the three Persons of the blessed Trinity descends that communion of love which is diffused in the hearts of men by the holy Spirit ‡." All other streams, call them humanity, philanthropy, or what you will, are poisoned; for, as St. Bonaventura says, "Offenso Creatore omnis creatura offenditur §." The Greeks, as if forseeing an apostasy more malignant than their own, used to call the hairy herb in hedges which sticks to the clothes of men who touch it, philanthropon ||; and with no greater justice is the same title applied at present to those men with their mouths full of philanthropy and their

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* Epist. lib. ii.

† Reg. B. Ælredi, c. xlvi. ap. Luc. Holstein Cod. Regul.

‡ Pet. Bles. De Charitate Dei, xxxv.

§ Serm. de B. Magd. ii.

|| Plin. N. H. xxiv. 116.

hands itching for booty, who set up for being establishers of fraternity and universal love, while treating as obsolete the charity of the Catholic religion. What are they but birs in the way? They will attach themselves indeed to all—to monks and nuns, both to churchmen and seculars, to the poor, to the rich, to rulers and people, but only to pilfer and annoy. All this kind of affection is content with words. But Catholicism rejects every claim to the possession of a good will which does not actually yield that love of mankind pure and undefiled, which is described by the apostle. " The love of man," says Drexelius, " necessarily accompanies the love of God ;" and as St. Thomas[*] says, " Unus utriusque est habitus." He cannot love God who does not, as He orders, love his neighbour ; for it is like a circle, where no lines can be produced from it to the centre unless they also touch each other, as Euclid demonstrates. Do you wish to touch the centre by love? You cannot, unless you touch all the lines which end in that centre. You do not touch the lines by love. Then you will depart from that centre excluded as an enemy[†]. Each book of Catholic philosophy must therefore thus begin and end, like Stolberg's works, with the book of love.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROAD OF STRANGERS.

CYPRESS and cedars of Libanon forming here a dark alley amidst oaks and elms indigenous in this forest of the West, are instances to show that trees, like men, can be foreigners and strangers in a land ; since not alone amongst them the oriental and European races generally, but also in their particular features, the Italian, the German, and the Spaniard, can be distinguished. The beech had not yet visited England when Cæsar came to it, and sycamores in France arrived much later from the Holy Land. The horse-chestnut, a native of Northern Asia, visited France for the first time in 1615 ; and the weeping willow, born in the Levant, had never seen England till Alexander Pope planted the twig of a fig-basket from Turkey, which he observed putting out a shoot, from which stock all the weeping willows in this country sprung. Pliny, indeed, seems to think—" arborum quoque, ut

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[*] ii. 2. Q. 25. a. 1.

[†] Rosæ select. virtut. i.

hominum naturam novitatis ac peregrinationis avidam esse *." Nor is it saplings only that can wander with impunity. Full-grown elms are removed from place to place without being injured. Theophrastus mentions that the plane-tree, when uprooted by the winds, was often planted elsewhere; and Pliny says that the Romans used to transplant trees that were twenty feet high. In 1636, trees seventy or eighty years old, and fifty feet in height, were removed to an island near Brazil, and took root there, bearing fruit the very first season. From the forest of Heidelberg came large lime-trees, that lived afterwards near the palace of the Elector Palatine; huge oaks were welcomed thus as strangers at the château of the Mareshal de Fiat; an entire forest was removed by Louis XIV. from Versailles to the plains of Boulogne; and at Mont-Louis, a small château at the foot of the Pyrenees, a scene previously naked, became, in the course of a few weeks, clothed with groves of great magnificence.

A theme appropriate to such scenery demands our attention at this turn; for the obstacles to a realization of the desire which leads men on the gracious road which we have followed to this spot, may be divided into two classes,—distinguished as those arising from the heathen, or still narrower sentiments of race, nationality, and patriotism, and those which are produced in undisciplined minds by the inequalities of fortune, rank, and condition, both of which are removed by Catholicism, and rationally and effectually by Catholicism alone. Let us proceed to observe the manner in which this great end is accomplished, and in the order which this division of our theme suggests, following at first the road of strangers, to mark what peculiar views of truth are presented to them by means of the wants and desires of their own state. In the first place, then, they cannot fail to observe that no one, truly submissive to the Catholic faith, is impeded in the direction of universal love by any considerations arising from national prejudices, and an undue attachment to the race from which he springs, or the country of his birth, since Catholicism necessarily involves "one race, one kingdom, joy, and union without end."

That the human race should be one body was never foreseen by antiquity. As a French Dominican observes, "Pagans could only understand unity as implying, that one nation should be mistress of other nations, one Cæsar the Cæsar of the world; but of the spiritual unity of souls by faith, hope, and charity, under one visible head, the Vicar of God, they had not the least presentiment. The announcement of such a truth by the Church caused an immense terror, of which it still feels the

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* N. H. lib. xvii. 12.

reaction. The passion of nationality is as strong against the Church at the present day as it was eighteen centuries ago, and those even who aspire to the social unity of the human race, cannot endure the idea of the Christian republic if it be not an image of their own conception. What philosopher, or what statesman, dreams of unity in the Christian sense, excepting to fear and to detest it?" "Heathenism," as a great French jurisconsult observes, "could not advance beyond the doctrines of a municipal bond, from identity of laws or country." "The country," says Seneca, "was one family; but the idea of a universal fraternity," we cannot change the word through disgust at its perversion, "was unknown to it." "Christianity first established this great principle, that the whole human race was one family, formed of children of the same God, and that all walls of separation are destroyed with the enmities and divisions consequent upon them. The love of humanity," still separating in mind the use and the abuse of words, "is to succeed to the hatred of countries; and men of every nation and of every class are to be united in a community of affection and a fraternal tenderness as members of one body *." "The Apostles," says the Abbot Rupertus, "when assembled on the day of Pentecost, were to erect a tower in the acceptable time, a divine tower, the top of which would touch heaven, by which every one in future, fearing judgment, might escape to heaven. They who of yore, without the guidance of God, and alone, with human labour, wished to erect such a tower, by the division of tongues which were previously one, were separated from each other and dispersed. But now, when by the counsel of God the tower of the body of Christ, which is the Church, of living and elect stones, was to be rightly constructed throughout the world, all tongues were brought back to one and the same utterance, lest otherwise as there when one asked for a stone another would bring mortar; so here, when our builders would announce peace, we should suspect war, and where they would preach the kingdom of God, we should think of the glory of the world †." "The world has many tongues," says St. Macarius, "each nation has its own; but Christians have only one ‡." Thanks to the Roman liturgy, this was in a certain sense for more than half the world that was not in a savage state even literally true—Hujus rei testis est tota Latinitas. St. Gregory the Great appeals to the fact, exclaiming, "Ecce lingua Britanniæ, quæ nil aliud noverat quam barbarum frendere, jamdudum in divinis laudibus Hebræum cœpit Alleluya resonare §." Pliny says that the difference be-

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* Troplong de l'influence du Christianisme sur le droit civil des Romains, 58.

† Rup. de Divinis Officiis, lib. x. c. 17.

‡ Hom. 32.

§ St. Greg. Mag. Moral. lib. xxvii. C.

tween languages and the results of it are so great, "ut externus alieno pæne non sit hominis vice [*]." "The diversity of languages," as a French author remarks, "is one of the penalties of man's prevarication, for it is the most vivacious element of that spirit of nationality of race and family by which the family of men is broken up into a thousand parts. If there were but one language," he continues, without remarking, however, as he ought to have shown, that a difference of tongues, as the world exists, is beneficial, "men would love each other more. The want of unity of language is one of the deepest wants of the human intelligence, and it arises from that want of love which is innate in the heart of man, however it may be concealed by wars and hatred [†]." But the Church, while preserving the benefit of many languages, fostering even all tongues, could triumph over the obstacle; however imperfectly the linguistic unity was maintained; for by symbols and sacraments she made all men agree in mind, and heart, and soul, and in one interior language, for "all sign themselves," says St. Augustin, "with the sign of the cross of Christ; all answer Amen; all sing Alleluja; all are baptized; all enter the Church; the sons of God not being distinguished from the sons of the devil, unless by charity [‡]."

———————— "Deus undique gentes
Inclinare caput docuit, sub legibus isdem;
Jus fecit commune pares, et nomine eodem
Nexuit; et domitos fraterna in vincla redegit.
Vivitur omnigenis in partibus, haud secus acsi
Cives congenitos concludat mœnibus unis
Urbs patria, atque omnes lare concilientur avito
Distantes regione plagæ, divisaque ponto avito
Littora conveniunt [§]."

Therefore, on the suppression of the Arian heresy in Spain, St. Leander pronounced these grand words—"Goodness is restored in place of malignity, and truth supplants error; that as pride, by the diversity of tongues, separated nations from union, charity might again bind them together in the bosom of brotherhood; and as there is only one possessor of the whole world, the Lord, so, as being his possession, there should be but one heart and one mind. Moreover, the whole human race is sprung from one man, in order that they who proceed from one may have the savour of one, may seek and love unity. But heresies and divisions flow from the fountain of vices, so that whoever comes to gentleness and unity returns from vice to nature—ex vitio ad naturam redit; quia sicut naturæ est fieri ex pluribus

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[*] Nat. Hist. vii. 1.
[†] Moreau, Consid. sur la vraie doctrine.
[‡] Tract. v. in Ep. Joan.
[§] Prudentius.

unitatem, sic est vitii fraternitatis declinare dulcedinem. Therefore the occasion of our past tribulation is a matter of joy. We lamented while we were oppressed; but those lamentations required that the men who by infidelity were our burden, should become by their conversion our crown."

In the Catholic Church are thus united all nations and languages and people, so that what Rutilius Numatianus says of Rome is an eternal truth—

> "Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam,
> Profuit invictis te dominante capi,"

which ordination is commemorated in the hymn of Fulbert, in the words—

> "Triumphat ille splendide,
> Soli polique patriam
> Unam facit rempublicam *."

The ocean no longer dissociable, as the poet called it †, forms no limits to those who belong to a family that is not exclusively French or English, Italian or Spanish, German or American. Only on one day in the year does the Church invite the faithful to pray for a particular nation, when in the hymn for Lauds on the festival of St. John Cantius, she sings—

> "O qui negasti nemini
> Opem roganti, patriam
> Regnum tuere postulant
> Cives Poloni et exteri."

And yet on that same day, as if distrustful of such a prayer, in her hymn for Vespers, she reminds them that the true country of men is heaven, for these are her words—

> "Ad patriam quam tendimus
> Gressus viamque dirige."

"He is anathema," says St. Augustin, speaking the sense of all Christian antiquity, "who shall announce the Church as distinct from the communion of all nations ‡," yet, excepting such empty concessions as some continued to express, like Milton, who takes for granted that "the Christian Church is not national, but consisting of many particular congregations," what can be found among all who departed from communion with the Holy See but a practical acceptance of the old Pagan separations? Many will have remarked the practical avowal of independence as to all the religious duties which they themselves recognize,

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* Bib. Pat. xviii. 53.

† Hor. Car. i. 3.

‡ Ep. xlviii.

and which unite Catholics of every nation, by those Protestant travellers on the continent, who the first moment after leaving their own country seem to say, like the ancient herald—

οὔτοι φοβοῦμαι δαίμονας τοὺς ἐνθάδε,
*οὐ γάρ μ' ἔθρεψαν, οὐδ' ἐγήρασαν τροφῇ**.

What they would shrink, through religion, from doing in England, they will practise in France, not like the French in accordance with, but like only those openly profane there, in opposition to what they think the divine will.

The tendency in general of human events to separate men into nations can be traced from a distant epoch. "The Council of Constance," says an English author, "was the first in which the votes were given, not by individuals, but by nations. This is a symptom of a very altered state from what prevailed in the preceding centuries: the feeling of the unity of the Church was then so strong, that all national distinctions and barriers of geography or language were lost sight of, overworn, and merged in the magnificent idea of the papacy which then prevailed, and was not inadequately realized in Europe."

"However at variance countries might be, yet in ecclesiastical feelings the Church 'helped to render indistinct the lines.' But in the fifteenth century the feeling of political individuality was beginning to arise, and betraying a consciousness of its existence in an altered way of dealing with the Church; and the lines which the Church had smoothed down and kept out of sight rose clearer and harder every day."

But we must remain longer here, in order to observe the spectacle of truth enjoyed by strangers and by those who would feel bound to them, cleared from all misconceptions of its aim, that we may comprehend more fully the real grounds and reasonableness, and practicability of this union of nations in the Catholic Church; for as yet some, through attachment to their father-land, which is a virtue that Catholicism loves and sanctifies, might object to us, that they saw two truths irreconcileable with each other. Such persons, therefore, are to be invited to consider, in the first place, that from the Christian doctrine in its simplicity, no other result but that which we have already found upon this road emanating from the Catholic Church, was possible, since in the mind of all who embraced the religion of Christ, nationality or patriotism, in the old pagan sense was, in point of fact, abolished by the Gospel. This conclusion was inevitable. A new world was to correspond with the new man, in which the old separations were to cease; so that the Apostle,

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* Æsch. Supp. 890.

after charging the Colossensians to lay aside all anger, indignation, malice, blasphemy, and other acts of the old man, adds,—"induentes novum eum, qui renovatur in agnitionem, secundum imaginem ejus qui creavit illum, ubi non est Gentilis et Judæus, barbarus et Scyta, sed omnia, et in omnibus Christus." Are Christians then to have no country? The question, even angrily proposed, cannot surprise us; for in this age no one is at a loss to proclaim, as the ground of his own proud self-sufficiency, his country, his race, and nation, the idea of losing which, in his mind, through a religious motive, would be equivalent to that of losing all that exalts him in his own esteem, according to the poet's avowal—

"Cum patriam amisi, tunc me periisse putato *."

Every one is eager to point on the map of the earth to what he calls his own country! But what is to be inferred from such feelings? "Alas!" cries a recent poet,

"That men are set on praising home thus Jewishly."

Not so, however, those who follow the voice of the Catholic Church; neither Jew nor Pagan can claim them for disciples. "One's country," says Gerbert, "is the place which one loves and dreams of, and sighs after. It can be only heaven—and if one must choose a country on earth, it is in the churches we shall find it, where God is adored †." Accordingly, the term "our country," with holy Catholic authors, always signifies heaven, as where Petrus Cellensis says, "patriam repetamus." The expression of Cajetan, "in statu viæ et in statu patriæ," was the general formula to imply the present and the future life. Thus, in the Compendium of Theological Truth, by St. Bonaventura, the terms "in via" and "in patria" are used. The Church indeed, with the schoolmen, rarely uses the word "patria" but for heaven. Thus, in the first Vespers of All Saints she hears the cry of those who have been redeemed ex omni tribu et lingua et populo et natione—and then, in allusion to heaven, she prays, saying, "Exules, vocate nos in patriam." Every day, in presence of the blessed sacrament, this is the country which she invites us to commemorate in strains of sweetest harmony, with the words, Qui vitam sine termino nobis donet in patria. The Church knows of but two conditions—the one in via, signifying the present; the other, in patria, the future life. "Christians," says St. Justin Martyr, "live in their own country in which they were born; but they live in it as if they were not natives. Every foreign land is their country, and every country

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* Trist. iii.

† Esquisse de Rom. Chrétienne, i. 229.

is foreign to them." This sentiment, so at variance with the feelings and principles of our times, was transmitted by Catholics from the time of the Apostles all through the middle ages, every indication of a spirit contrary to it being sure to incur reproof from holy guides, as when St. Bridget divulged the words she heard pronounced against Pope Urban for loving Avignon—"Trahit eum diabolus cum delectatione mundiali, nam nimis desiderabilis est sibi terra nationis suæ mundano more;" adding, "Therefore he is drawn by the counsel of carnal friends, who attend more to his will and love than to the honour and will of God, and the proficiency and salvation of his own soul *." It would be tedious to cite the mediæval writers, about whose convictions on this point there can be no question. What St. Stephen of Grandmont, for instance, thought of patriotism in the Pagan sense, may be inferred from the words which he left in his Book of Sentences—"Bonum est ne quis de sua patria rumores audiat nisi quominus potuerit †." "Non habes hic manentem civitatem, et ubicunque fueris," adds the ascetic, "extraneus es et peregrinus ‡;" or, as the abbot Olympius used to say, in older times, "Ubicunque sederis, dic assidue, Peregrinus sum §." The rule of St. Leander repeats the same lesson, saying, "Peregrinari te in mundo scito; nec hic habere patriam, sed in cœlo ‖." St. Francis of Asissi must be equally obnoxious to those patriots who in our age pretend that such sentiments are a distinct attribute of the Jesuits; for of that blessed man we read, "de una patria quam de alia, non curavit," and that he charged his brethren in his rule to cultivate the same mind ¶. Ammonius Marcellinus says, "Peregrinus nec propria domo quiescit nec domini proprii imperio submittitur." Jacob therefore, as Antonio de Escobar remarks, in presence of Pharao, said, "Dies peregrinationis vitæ meæ. I am never at home. I serve no master who can ever die." Thus did St. Francis Borgia speak when in the court of King Charles: "He was a stranger and a pilgrim there, like all apostolic men, and therefore free **." Does this language of the Church disturb you? Then it is not reason or nature that causes this obstruction. The old philosophy at least would have recognized truth in such views. Anaxagoras being reproached for not caring about his country, replied, pointing up to heaven, "Have a better opinion of me. I take a great interest in my country ††." Alexander having

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* Revelationum S. Birgittæ lib. iv. c. 138.

† S. Steph. Grandim. Liber Sent. c. 13.

‡ Imit. ii. 1.

§ Prat. Spir.

‖ Reg. ap. Luc. Holstein Cod. Reg. c. xi.

¶ Jerem. Bucchius Liber Aureus conformitatum vitæ B. P. F. ad vitam J. C. 39.

** In Evang. Com. vol. vii. 391.

†† Diog. Laert.

asked Crates if he wished to have his country restored, replied, "What use would it be of, since another Alexander would destroy it afresh *?" St. Augustin therefore appeals to its testimony, citing the words of Plotinus—"Fugiendum est ad clarissimam patriam, et ibi Pater, et ibi omnia." Many will still halt in doubt; for the wanderer now partakes of Circe's drink—

ἵνα πάγχυ λαθοίατο πατρίδος.

Indeed such views are hardly understood by the men of later times, in reference to great numbers of whom the Pindaric line might perhaps be repeated with too much truth,—

ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὔπω ἀμβατὸς αὐτοῖς †.

Let us consider however whether it may not be possible to remove the obstacles which seem to them insurmountable. Exaggeration creates obstructions in the plainest way, and therefore we must still pause with our contemporaries, in order to convince them that in Catholicism on this road that impediment has no existence, but in a distorted representation of the doctrine of truth. Attachment to the country—

——— ἵνα τ' ἔτραφεν, ἠδ' ἐγένοντο ‡,

is natural to men, and recognized as innocent by the Catholic religion, which they must be reminded is always in harmony with nature restored to its original form. The familiar lines—

"Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
Ducit, et immemores non sinit esse sui"—

are cited by the Benedictine Antonio de Yepes §, as expressing the sentiment of his own heart:

Ἡ πατρὶς ὡς ἔοικε φίλτατον βροτοῖς—

said the poet, and it would be tedious to review his examples of men like Ulysses,—

χαίρων ἥ γαίη πατρῴη.

Who will not sympathize with them? We may have lived with delight in foreign lands—

——— ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει
πατρίδος ἐρᾶν ἅπαντας· ὃς δ' ἄλλως λέγει,
λόγοισι χαίρει, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐκεῖσ' ἔχει ||.

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* Diog. Laert.

† Pyth. x.

‡ Od. x. 417.

§ Chron. Gen. tom. ii.

|| Med. 357.

If it be certain that the law which commands it to be so is general for all who follow nature, it is no less true that the most austere Catholic authors recognize its claim to the submission of those who are under grace. "Since our country," says a theologian, "is a common mother, in cases of necessity it must have the preference, and—dulce est pro Patria mori*."

> "The land we from our fathers had in trust,
> We to our children will transmit or die;
> This is our maxim, this our piety;
> And God and nature say that it is just."

It is not indeed the sanguinary and unjust disposition, called patriotism, extolled by the class of men who are involved in the old errors that Catholicity will sanction; but it is the real love for the country of their fathers which is felt by unsophisticated, disinterested, and generous men, who form the heart and vital power of a nation, as Hanno recognized, when finding that no Roman had deserted to Hannibal, after the great slaughter at Cannæ, he advised his countrymen to seek for peace with them. Greater love of country than is evinced by the sacrifice of fortune and life for its true and undoubted interests, when they demand it, cannot be required justly; and yet this would be expected and canonized by the Church. Accordingly we have not to leave her broad domains in order to find examples of "the charity of native land." Her martyrologies are full of them, and in profane history they are found. Count Walter, at the siege of Joppa, acted towards the sultan of Babylon "as did Regulus in Carthage," and so died †. The Catholic moralists take for granted and sanction the principle of the love of one's country. Palmieri says, that without that love no one would perform noble actions in its regard ‡; and certainly we find memorable results in all Christian annals! "For the Spaniards," says a recent author, "Spain was the land of their ancestors, a country, an adored country; they loved it with enthusiasm and respect, as noble sons love a virtuous mother §." We are not left without examples of the tenderness of this love in men of greatest faith. St. Louis, expressing his spirit of self-sacrifice, speaks of never returning in dulcem Franciam ‖. Alcuin, more in that respect like Dædalus,—

> ———— "longumque perosus
> Exilium, tactusque soli natalis amore,"—

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* Ægid. Gabrielus, Specimen Mor. Christianæ, Preamb.

† Mat. Paris ad ann. 1251.

‡ La Vita Civile.

§ Damas Heinard Romancero General. Disc. Prel.

‖ Mat. Paris ad ann. 1250.

when consenting to repair to Charlemagne's court, stipulate that he should have liberty to return to England as often as i pleased, availing himself of this privilege in the year 79 though, Catholicity having smoothed for him the stranger's road he soon returned to France, which he left no more till his death. The same love, as having powerful sway in the heart of the illustrious Louis de Cornaro, is thus described by himself: "The first of pleasures is to serve one's dear country. O how glorious is the infinite delight I take in teaching how to preserve its important Lagune and its harbour, that they may not be filled up these thousand years to come! By these means Venice will preserve its wonderful and admirable name of the Virgin City, as it is in fact; for there is no other like it in the world. Besides, it will augment its high renown as the queen of the sea. I rejoice in that, and my joy is complete. Another joy to me is to teach this virgin, this queen, how to render abundant her provisions by fertilizing useless lands. I have also another unchangeable joy in teaching how Venice may become stronger, though she is very strong; more beautiful, though she is very beautiful; more rich, though she is very rich; more healthy, though the air she breathes is perfect." Let us hear an earlier witness. Sidonius Apollinaris, on meeting Catulinus, a fellow-countryman, at Arles, says, "that he was more than ever pleased with him," adding, "sæpe enim cives magis amicos peregrinatio facit*." St. Isidore, having been born at Seville, of which the ancient authors say, "Hominibus quos Deus amat Hispali domum largitur et victum," the author of his life observes, that "men of God who think only of the celestial make but little account of the earthly country;" and yet there is often affecting proof of the intensity with which they loved the latter in God. "As for me," said St. Catherine of Sienna, "I shall continue to my death to use my utmost efforts for the honour of God, and the tranquillity of my country!" Marina de Escobar speaks as follows, evincing a most tender affection for the interest of her native land: "Sometimes I used to reflect in trembling, whether God, so angry with the sins of the people, might not abandon these kingdoms of Spain, as He has abandoned other countries for their sins; and when I spoke of this in prayer, I heard these words, Fear not, for you will not see it. Then I continued, But will others who now live ever witness such a calamity? And it was signified to me that they would not. But again I asked, Will a day ever come when such an affliction will arrive? I was then told not to ask that question. Still, moved with pity, I cried out with many tears, No, no, my Lord! by thy mercy say neither now nor never! And the divine ma-

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* Epist. lib. l. xi.

jesty, as if wishing to console me, replied, What does it matter to you whether I shall pass hence elsewhere, or not, since you are not to witness it? Ah! it matters much, I cried, O Lord, much to me: but the final answer was, that I must be always resolved to wish whatever God wishes. Then I heard these words, Lo! much time will pass, and many ages will flow on, and many and various events will take place." Such was her vision in regard to the future lot of her dear country, granted in the year 1599*. Our English martyrs evinced the same affection for their fathers' land, and that too sometimes within the cloister. Father Marchant says of Father Heath the Franciscan, "Some months ago he came to our presence, desiring, according to his rule, to go to the English that were gone astray from the faith, alleging no other reason than this, that he might shed his blood, and that he might be slain with and for the English, his brethren according to the flesh." This father, being martyred at Tyburn, expired praying for the conversion of England†. The Rev. John Ingram furnished another example; for when going to martyrdom at Newcastle, he said, "I trust that I shall purchase for our Babylonic soil more favour by my death than I could have obtained by longer labouring in the vineyard."

Not as yet however have we taken sufficient pains to distinguish the natural love for native land, which leads men on this path to the truth that recognizes and sanctions it, from the spirit which, under the name of patriotism, in pagan and modern times, forms only an additional source of darkness and difficulty for men. "The patriotism of Spaniards," we are told complainingly, "is parochial. Each Spaniard thinks of his own province or town." But, we may ask, was Spain in the middle ages a less glorious nation on that account? No certainly; and though it was the Roman precept which Catholicism adopts, as may be witnessed in the pages of St. Bonaventura‡, "Ut totum corpus reipublicæ curent principaliter; ne dum aliquam partem tuantur, reliquas deserant," there can be no doubt but that this feature ascribed to the Spaniards, which seems to indicate so exclusive and limited an attachment, argues no singularity or moral error, as far as concerns the conduct of private men. The sentiment, in ages of social greatness, was general throughout Christendom, and the French themselves formed no exception, as may be witnessed even in their proverbs, "Sans Gérardmer et un peu Nancy," say the peasants of the former village, "que seroit-ce Lorraine§?" The fact is, that even so late as the epoch which saw the rise of the Communes, the word one's

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* Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, p. i. lib. v. c. 9.

† Challoner.

‡ De Sept. Itiner. Æter. iv.

§ Le Roux de Lincy.

country signified only the space comprised within the walls of the town, or within the limits of the small territory around it[*]; and this seems to be conformable to the example of our Lord, who deigned to have his town, as where St. Matthieu says of him, "Venit in civitatem suam[†]," leaving us to collect from such words, that he sanctioned this natural bond of affection. Virgil says,—

"Divisæ arboribus patriæ[‡]."

And however sophists may exclaim, it is the affection which binds men to the limited confines where they spent their youth, where they had once known everybody, and everybody had known them, that can be most easily reconciled with the Christian doctrine concerning the universal love of men, and rendered most serviceable to the whole community of each nation. St. John Climachus, distinguishing the love for one's country which is lawful in the perfect, seems to recognize no other, saying, "Non quo propinquos nostros et patrios agros oderimus, idcirco ab illis secedimus. Absit id penitus[§]!" The motives for such love, springing from the deep sentiment of nature, are thus beautifully alleged by Sidonius Apollinaris, writing to his Hecdicius: "Come," he says, "to this land where you were born, and where you have so much to attract you. I omit those common but not little incitements to love it,—that this was the sod on which your feet first ran, that here were the rivers in which you first swam, and the groves through which you first pursued the game. Here are the scenes of your first boyhood's play with the bow, and the horse, and the dog[‖]." All this, you say, is very puerile, very unworthy of men; but the poets and sages of antiquity, who were most true to nature, seem not to have had more extended views of the motives which attach men to their country: Sophocles introduces Ajax, when about to die, saluting not an abstraction for his country but his ancestral hearths, his friends and companions—the fountains and rivers, and the sacred soil of his native land—

———— *ὦ πατρῷον ἑστίας βάθρον,*
———— *καὶ τὸ σύντροφον γένος,*
κρῆναί τε, ποταμοί θ' οἵδε[¶].

Homer represents Minerva, in order to convince Ulysses that he is in his country, adducing proofs, the appreciation of which argues the same order of habits and thoughts; for she shows him

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[*] Cibrario, Polit. State of the Mid. Ages, 277.

[†] ix. 1.

[‡] Virg. Georg. ii. 116.

[§] Scal. Par. 3.

[‖] Epist. lib. iii. c. 3.

[¶] Ajax, 860.

the harbour and the olive grove, the cave sacred to the nymphs, that are called Naiads, and the mountain of Neritus covered with wood*. What he loved in Ithaca were its ports, its rocks, and its luxuriant trees—

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——— λιμένες τε πάνορμοι,
πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, καὶ δένδρεα τηλεθόωντα†.

The love which bound Plutarch to his obscure native town, Cheronæa, was of the same description: though before his time it was hardly known in history, he took pride in having been born there. He returned early to his beloved country, and fixed his residence there for the rest of his life, saying, "He was born in a small town, and to prevent it from becoming still smaller, he chose to remain in it." And the order of thoughts which weighed with him, may be easily collected from the charming motive which he ascribes to Sertorius, in saying, "that he preferred the most obscure life in his own country to the empire of the whole world, if it was to be purchased by exile;" for, he adds, "this great love for his country arose, it is said, from his extreme tenderness for his mother‡." The Romans themselves seem to have traced this connexion, and to have recognized the true order of love in regard to patriotism; for one of their authors begins his treatise, De Pietate erga Patriam, with these words: "Arctissimis sanguinis vinculis pietas satisfecit; restat nunc ut patriæ exhibeatur§." That their notion of its limits was more Homeric than patriotic in the modern sense, may be inferred from the expression used by Pliny, when he says, "Catullum conterraneum meum||." The race of sophists, now convulsing Europe, scorns such views, as contracted, egotistical, and barbarous; the dull herd of half-witted patriots chime in with them; but let us observe, that in opposing the union of nations in the Catholic Church, these men advocate a sentiment which is compatible, as experience proves, not only with the profligacy which made the great Johnson say, that "Patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel;" but also with a great facility for transforming that artificial and conventional love of country, which sounds so magnificent on their tongues, into indifference and even hatred towards it; for, not to remark "how little men can be expected to love their country who have no particular affection for any part of it," pride and egotism, which are the real source both of this professed patriotism, which consists in an abstraction used as a pretext for indulging in such passions, and of that arising from a mere

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* xiii. 345.

† xiii. 195.

‡ In Vit. Sertor.

§ Val. Max. vi.

|| Nat. Hist. lib. i.

carnal hatred of strangers, however constant in themselves, are necessarily in all their outward effects and forms of development uncertain and mutable. Indifference therefore is witnessed in the crowd of these perpetual travellers, ever boasting not the less of their national superiority, who care not to return to their country,—

——— φίλους τ' ἰδέειν, καὶ ἱκέσθαι
Οἶκον ἐς ὑψόροφον, καὶ ἑὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν[*]·

or rather who practically disable all the benefits of their own country, and are out of love with their nativity, almost chiding God for having made them the creatures they are. And hatred is not unfrequently the part adopted in the end by those who began by devoting, not four like Hamilcar, but forty sons if they could produce them, to perpetuate, as if by lion's whelps, execration and injury against a rival nation. No vice ends where it begins. Few, whose patriotism swells from an impure source, will resemble Fabius Maximus, who would never give way to anger against his fellow-countrymen—tam perseverans in amore civium fuit[†], while many will rather boast that they are prepared, like the conqueror of Corioli, to fight against their cankered country with the spleen of all the under fiends, and to fight against it too with aid from the very foreigners whose crimes would in heathen times have closed against them every port and every frontier, who might have said with Scylla—

——— "cives odere merentem:
Finitimi exemplum metuunt. Obstruximus orbem
Terrarum nobis[‡]" ———

Dante met one, past from life, who said to him, "Though Sapia named, in sapience I excelled not." This was that lady of Sienna who, living in exile at Colle, was so overjoyed at a defeat which her countrymen sustained near that place, that she declared nothing more was wanting to make her die contented. "Fly hence," cries a contemporary, "this day to a foreign country; carry with you to it your need of agitation; and if your resentment or your hate against France survive your defeat at home, go to rejoin your adopted alien fellow-citizens, and fight with them against the soldiers of your own country, whom you so cordially detest when you cannot dishonour them by making them your accomplices."

Moreover, there is no reason to suppose that the evil of such views is confined to one side alone. Men are the victims of their own work; for, in creating for themselves a country cor-

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[*] v. 42.

[†] Val. Max. iii.

[‡] Ovid, Met. viii. 2.

responding to the pagan ideal, they must be content to accept only its natural results; and then this road may lead by their own personal calamity to their recognition of the great but humble truth they fled from. The warning voice of antiquity is sufficiently loud. They can hear it in a cloud of witnesses. The first Africanus, in voluntary exile, ordering to be inscribed on his tomb, "Ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem mea habes!" the later Africanus retiring in his last years to a foreign city, "et quod vitæ superfuit, ibi sine ullo ingratæ patriæ desiderio peregit." Lentulus, of the Cornelian race, banished from his country, forming the fifth example in one family of such ungratefully repaid services. Lycurgus, banished from Lacedæmon; Solon and Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, Phocion punished by the Athenians with exile and torture*: such are a few of them. Cicero might well therefore observe, "Est omnino patriæ caritas meo quidem judicio maxima; sed amor voluntatisque conjunctio plus certe habet suavitatis†." Truly we may believe so.

How many in these latter times have had reason to exclaim, like the suppliants of old, when received in a foreign land with the kindness that belongs to Catholicity, "Let us sing the city of Pelasgus, and forget henceforth in our hymns the Nile; the Pelasgian land is better"—

αἶνος δὲ πόλιν τήνδε Πελασγῶν
ἐχέτω, μηδ' ἔτι Νείλου
προχοὰς σέβωμεν ὕμνοις‡.

Leaving, however, paganism in ancient and modern times, when it is blinder and more perverse than ever, let us return to the Catholic view of patriotism, and observe how it corrects the evils which undisciplined nature associates with it, and how it combines the natural sentiment of human hearts with the enlarged benevolence which salutes the whole human race as a divinely-constituted family of brothers. Catholicism comprises the national and the philanthropic schools, only condemning the exaggerations of both. It is not content with the protestations of the former, that forsooth "it is not the enemy of the human race." It condemns its boast, "qu'elle est patriote avant tout," and that its first desire and duty are to secure by any means, for it goes to that length, the prosperity and honour of its own country§. On the other hand, it rejects the motive of the latter class of politicians, if its love of men spring from the sole ground of identity of nature, which would be a selfish and mere animal

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* Val. Max. lib. v. † Epist. lib. x. 5. ‡ Æsch. Supp. 1020.
§ Le Correspondant, tom. vi. 15 Avril.

affection. Supplying it, however, with far nobler principles, it evidently turns to it with pleasure from the cold professions of the national school, which admits that "it has no other interests at heart but those of its nation, the object of all its predilections, and that if it were less disposed to seek its glory and happiness at the expense, if necessary, of all the other nations of the earth, it would accuse itself of having violated one of its first duties." Such politicians defend the worst actions of their country, glorify its crimes, throw a veil over its turpitudes, saying, like the Roman, "Nam quis populo Romano irasci sapienter potest *?" They are delighted, like the Athenians, when addressed as citizens of the first and only state, the crowned and the splendid. "I know the humour of our villagers," says the poet, "who rejoice when any one praises their country, justly or unjustly flattering them †;" but the Catholic Church will not flatter any state—

φησὶν δ' ὑμᾶς πολλὰ διδάξειν ἀγάθ', ὥστ' εὐδαιμόνας εἶναι,
οὐ θωπεύων, οὔθ' ὑποτείνων μισθοὺς, οὔτ' ἐξαπατύλλων,
οὔτε πανουργῶν, οὔτε κατάρδων, ἀλλὰ τὰ βέλτιστα διδάσκων ‡.

We have seen, that from the first the Christian society formed one family, composed of all races and nations, according to the prayer of the Church on Holy Saturday, beginning, "Deus, qui diversitatem gentium in confessione tui nominis adunasti," and that the Christiana plebs named in the prayer on Good Friday comprised all nations—governed alike by the one Pastor under God, the bond between which was so real and efficacious, that after four centuries St. Augustin said, "Melior est fraternitas Christi fraternitate sanguinis: fraternitas sanguinis," he adds, "interdum sibi inimica est, Christi autem fraternitas sine intermissione pacifica est §." This unity, it must be remembered, involved duties, both in regard to nations and to individuals; for manners, political and social, were to be in harmony with the principle from which it sprang; and the glance at them, to which I now invite you, reader, constitutes one of the charms on this road, conducting men, by admiration for their excellence, to the central truth. Nations collectively are, if Catholic, to evince by public acts that their respective governments are under the influence of those Christian principles which have removed the semina odii et belli. If the Catholic religion were universally accepted by the race of men, which of course is an impossible hypothesis, national wars, and all those foreign quarrels, to busy giddy minds at home, would be found only in histories of the

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* Val. Max.

† Aristoph. Acharn. 376.

‡ Acharn. 655.

§ S. Aug. sup. Act. Apost.

past, and there too, perhaps, would cease to inspire that interest with which poets, themselves unsettled in faith, have invested them. "Who," exclaims the Abbot Rupertus, "has not heard of the discords of the Romans, and their wars? The world was weary and is still weary hearing scholastics reading, historians relating, boys learning to repeat their cruel and implacable enmities *." The national wars of Greeks might be studied only to serve as a contrast to the manners of a peaceful epoch; for then, if truly Catholic, no one would seek to please assemblies by speaking like Lamachus—"As for me, I swear an eternal war to all the Peloponnesians; I will pursue them as long as I can by land and sea †." "If a Lacedæmonian were accused of having stolen a little dog from an island of your allies," says an orator, addressing their rivals, "you would have equipped 300 ships instantly to take vengeance: and you resent the conduct of others when they act similarly? You have not common sense, then"—*νοῦς ἄρ᾽ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔνι.* Yet such is the "common sense" and inextinguishable spirit of all nations without faith. The only answer to be expected, if any one remonstrates, is that of the chorus of Athenians to him who said that the Lacedæmonians were not the authors of all their evils—

> *τοῦτο τοὔπος δεινὸν ἤδη καὶ ταραξικάρδιον,*
> *εἰ σὺ τολμήσεις ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων ἡμῖν λέγειν* ‡.

The result of Catholic principles never indeed was, and never can be, complete on earth; but no one conversant with history, and anxious for the future, can forget the measures of approximation which were, and ever will be, due to the Church. National wars, during the middle ages, were after all hardly known, or, when known, deplored alike by both parties, without waiting for the excess of horror which made the ancient poet say,

> "Græcia tum potuit Priamo quoque flenda videri §."

The seventh chapter of the rule of the third order of St. Francis only evinced the general impression, when it says, "The brethren shall not bear arms unless for the defence of the Roman Church, of the Christian faith, or for defence of their country." Even down to much later times, when, as an historian says, "the eye of a powerful neighbour is a great enemy," there was not that nervous susceptibility of offence between neighbouring nations which the overthrow of all Catholic bonds occasions now,

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* Rupert. Abb. Tuitiensis de Victoria Verbi Dei, lib. vi. 20.

† Acharn. 619. ‡ 315. § Ovid, Met. xiv. 10.

bringing back in sad reality the times which that historian deplored, when it was said with truth,—

δυσμενὴς καὶ βάσκανος ὁ τῶν γειτόνων ὀφθαλμὸς,
"Inimicus et invidus vicinorum oculus *."

When the English captain, in Dover roads, conveying the Marquis de Rhosni, embassador of Henry IV. to James I., fired upon the vessel of the vice-admiral of France, which the embassador had just left, for hoisting the French flag in return to the salute, the latter made signs to him to lower it, and the brutality of the English captain was excused, and officially pardoned, the French historian remarking, "Ce ne fut qu'un esclat de la colère de ce capitaine, nourri d'un biscuit fait de fer et d'acier, entre les vagues et les flots de la mer, qui n'avoit accoustume d'ouyr rien plus doux que le vent †." Matthieu Paris, though so attached to his country that he seems to have been infected with a narrow spirit of race, yet speaking, in 1254, after the general manner of Englishmen, styles the King of France "The king of the kings of the earth." He relates with sympathy that when Henry III. and St. Louis were conversing together in Paris, the pious King of France said to him, "Have we not married two sisters, and our brothers two other sisters? All the children which spring from these marriages will be as brothers and sisters. Oh! if among poor people there was a similar affinity or consanguinity, how would they mutually cherish each other! how would they be united from the heart! I grieve, the Lord knows, that our reciprocal affection cannot be perfectly accordant in all things; but the obstinacy of my barons will not obey my will ‡." In fact, that true representation of Catholic kings laboured to make a solid and perpetual peace between France and England. "We must use all our efforts," he said, "to establish a durable peace between my sons and the sons of the King of England, in order that the two kingdoms may no longer bite one another, as they have done by the instigation of the enemy of the human race, that men may no more plunder nor kill, nor precipitate themselves into hell §."

"Before the English wars of Henry V. and Henry VI. in France," says a recent historian, who is inflamed with hatred against our holy faith, "France had always lived the common general life of the middle ages, more than by a life of its own. It was Catholic and feudal before being French; and England,

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[*] Alc. P. Epist. ad Encynom.

[†] Pierre Matthieu, Hist. de Henry IV. liv. vi.

[‡] Ad ann. 1254. [§] Ad ann. 1258.

by forcing it to fall back on itself, compelled it to assume a new position, and to become known as a nation *." What have its people gained by their new boasted fame? The English government in France was, in fact, distinguished by a spirit that indicated at the time new principles in political science; and this severity, according to some, can be inferred even from the pardons which it granted, as where we read pardon to a schoolmaster fined thirty-two golden crowns for having educated the son of an Armagnac †; pardon to a monk, who had tended a wounded Armagnac ‡; pardon to a scholar who had studied law at Angers §. Such a neglect of the common bonds of Catholicity in regard to differences between nations, as is indicated by the first enactment of penalty for these acts, would have been thought to justify the poet of Paderborn for saying,

" Saxonum natura ferox et pectora dura."

Those Catholic bonds rendered possible strange combinations in the political and social order. The Paduans even always elected a foreigner for their chief magistrate, who retained his office for a year, so wondrous was the bond of secret sympathy which poured a vital oneness through the whole. " In my youth," says Alcuin, " I sowed the seeds of learning in the prosperous seminaries of Britain; and now, in my old age, I am doing so in France, without ceasing, praying that the grace of God may bless them in both countries ||." Such was the union in the republic of letters effected by the Catholic religion. If its antagonists should now submit themselves to the instructions of a foreigner, it will be only on the condition of his being an apostate, and perhaps even a political traitor to his own country. The writers who, like Matthieu Paris, opposed this unity through a spirit strongly savouring of pagan patriotism, fall into self-contradictions, which show how little they were accordant with the mind of the society around them, as when the historian says, " England, which often sends prelates of its own to govern foreign countries, has no need to beg beyond its own territory for persons to govern its own churches ¶;" yet Augustin, Theodore, Lancfranc, and Anselm were names that might have silenced such complaints, without speaking of others who, like Gilbertus, bishop of London, in 1127, surnamed " Universalis," a canon of Lyons, governed so many years with great renown. The alien monasteries supply another instance. " We should

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* Michelet, Hist. de France, v. 307.

† Archives Tres. des Chartes, clxxiii.

‡ Id. 692.

§ Id. 689.

|| Alcuini Op. Ep. 38.

¶ Ad ann. 1240.

never forget," says a recent author, "that the monasteries affiliated from nation to nation answered better than the secular clergy to the spirit of Catholic association, and that the monks by their journeys and incessant communications from one end of the world to the other, were the point of rallying for fœderalized Europe *." These institutions of course yielded to the opposing interests of warlike kings and of later heresies. So, speaking of London, its annalist observes, "There was sometime in this suburb without Aldersgate, an hospital for the poor, but an alien of Clunie, a French order, and therefore suppressed by King Henry V.;" and "without the bar of West Smithfield lieth a large street called of the house of St. John, on right hand whereof stood the late dissolved monastery called the Charter-house, founded by Sir Walter Manny, knight, a stranger born, lord of the town of Manny, in the diocese of Cambray, beyond the seas." "There was also," he says, "an hospital of St. Marie Rouncivall, by Charing Cross, a cell to the priory and convent of Rouncivall in Navar, in Pampelion diocese, where a fraternity was founded in the 15th of Edward IV., but now the same is suppressed and turned into tenements." "The monasteries," as Antonio de Yepes says, "depending upon the head houses in foreign countries, tended to make all nations one,—thus Lerins in Gaul depended on Monte Casino in Italy, while Italians, Germans, English, Irishmen, and Spaniards had to visit France, to assist at the general chapters celebrated in Cluny, Citeaux, Præmontré, and the grande chartreuse †."

In the monastic world, at least, the absence of national exclusions tends to diffuse love through multitudes of all races. Each country beheld without jealousy its noblest intelligences subjected to the government of a foreigner. St. Bonaventura received the habit from the hands of an Englishman, Haymond, general of the order. The Englishman in every monastery that was not limited on the continent, had a foreigner for his superior. Thus was an immense bond of fraternity cemented over the earth. The cruel spirit of nationalism in states, at whatever period evinced, opens, therefore, an avenue to the Catholic Church, which has so constantly laboured to counteract it in the interest both of powerful and weaker countries, while in the absence of that Divine faith, as some in modern times can testify, "the former," as Cicero says, "have often left nothing to the latter except calamity." Not from the Apostolic see, not from the Catholic religion, was transmitted the spirit of that William Maréchal in the reign of Henry III., in whose epitaph were the words, "I am he who was Saturn for Ireland, the Sun for

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* Lorain, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Cluny, xxxix.

† Chronic. Gen. Ord. S. Benedict. i. 218.

England, Mercury for Normandy, and Mars for France," suggesting the remark of Matthieu Paris, that he had been indeed an exterminator for Ireland, the glory and honour of England, an able negotiator for Normandy, and for the French a formidable foe*. It was the same Matthieu Paris, so hostile to the holy see, who evinced that national hatred which dictated his infamous complaint, that "in Gascony the King Henry III. spared his enemies after vanquishing them, forgetting," he adds, with an incredible want of consideration, "this precept of the Gospel, 'Bring those who have not wished that I should reign over them, and slay them before me.' Thus," he concludes, "did the king caress strangers and forfeit his renown †." Yet even this uncertain wavering narrator cannot avoid occasionally using the language of Catholicism that rang around him; as when he says of 1240, "This year by a twofold grace of our Lord Jesus, France as well as England was flourishing and triumphant." This and not the sentiment a poet loves to kindle, where he repeats the boast—

> " These English woes shall make me smile in France ‡,"

expressed the thought which faith inspired, raising in every age from all Christian nations, a cry like that herald's voice which for once surprised the heathens by the words *ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι.*

Accordingly let us mark how loving and unclouded by any jealous envious eye was in former times the intercourse of kings. Henry III. of England, after transferring the body of his mother to Fontevrault, and repairing to Pontigny for prayer, proceeded to traverse France on his return. Great were the honours with which he was received: the scholars of Paris suspended their lectures, made a subscription among themselves, purchased tapers and festive apparel, and went to meet the king, carrying branches and garlands. Never before in France was there so splendid a spectacle. The streets were hung with tapestry; the scholars and citizens passed the day and night and the days following in joy and exultation. When the king of England arrived with his immense retinue, the king of France rejoiced greatly, and thanked the clergy for the honour with which they had received his guests. The city of Paris and all its palaces being left at their disposition, the English king chose for his hotel the old temple, as being the most vast and capable of containing his host: in fact, all the templars of this side of the Alps can be lodged here at the time of their general chapter, which is always held by night, so that the one lodging must contain them all. However, many of king Henry's

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* Ad ann. 1219. † Ad ann. 1253. ‡ Mic. 11.

train were obliged to be lodged without. The next day ordered that every part of the temple should be filled with p people, who should be fed abundantly with meat and bre and fish and wine ;—and this was done*.

But now, from observing the spirit which directed states relation to each other, let us turn to survey the advanta arising from Catholicism in regard to the manners of priva men towards foreigners, which furnish a wide field for t exercise of its Divine influence. Speaking of the French a English, Walsingham gives this testimony—"Nempe, mos e utrique genti, licet sibimet in propriis sint infesti regionibus, remotis partibus tanquam fratres subvenire et fidem ad invice inviolabilem observare." An instance occurred in 1241, whe Earl Richard, brother of Henry III., caused, as another English historian says, "the precious bones" of the French crusade slain at Gaza to be honourably buried, and provided for a pries to celebrate daily the Divine office for their souls, having at th same time ransomed and set free thirty-three noble prisoner and five hundred pilgrims of lower condition, with a crowd o knights and sergeants of the temple and hospital†." Such expressions of mutual veneration are not found in the journals of men who boast the loudest of their national wisdom. It was a saying of Plato, that we should endeavour to prevent our country from being regarded by other nations as savage and inhospitable—*χρὴ δὲ οὔποτε περὶ σμικροῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὸ δοκεῖν ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἢ μὴ δοκεῖν*‡—advice for which there might be found occasion in modern times, since the revival of the ancient separations which Catholicism had smoothed down. For now in regard to the natives of other countries, we find men in abundance having a provision of anger not for three days only—

ἔχοντας ἡμερῶν ὀργὴν τριῶν,—

but for their whole lives, and that is, we may fear, since will survives power, for eternity§. Thus do they yield up their hearts and their intelligence to envy, the inveterate anger, as Cæsarius styles it, of which he says—"Hoc vitium quanto est occultius, tanto periculosius‖." Heresy or false philosophy have infused into Christian nations the spirit of the Arabs, who, as Gibbon says, are accustomed to confound the ideas of stranger and enemy ; they have rendered them like the Persians, who, as Herodotus says, regarded other nations in a favourable light only as far as they could trace a resemblance in them to themselves—*νομίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους.* Without doubt there are intervals during which some

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* Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1254.

† Mat. Paris, 1291.

‡ De Legibus, lib. xii.

§ Aristoph. Vesp.

‖ iv. c. 23.

nations collectively acting like one tyrant, as Fluellen says, in his rages, and his furies, and his wraths, and his cholers, and his moods, and his indignations, and also intoxicated in his brains, seem less to merit affection and sympathy than execration or laughter, as the impulse of mere nature may prompt the lookers-on.

> "Omnibus idem animus sceleratâ excedere terrâ,
> Linquere pollutum hospitium, et dare classibus austros[*]."

The just and holy themselves, as heaven and earth have this year witnessed, may feel constrained to withdraw beyond their territories lest they should lose sight of all meekness and obedience, of all abstinence and respect, of all duty and of all love. In plenitudine sanctorum non in plenitudine impiorum detentio Mariæ est[†]. But after all, however present evils may excite imperfect men, perhaps the natives of no country, as such, if we except those of some minor states like Ireland and the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, have any right to cast the stone at those of another. All or nearly all, if they look back a little, will find that they have had their nights of the intelligence when men lose the memory even of common sense, moments of decline and of idiotism in their eclipsed genius when they have given themselves up to impiety and madness and shame. The Comte d'Artois, on the departure of William Longsword from the host of crusaders, is said to have exulted, saying that "he was glad the army of the Franks was purged from the men with tails. These caudati were the English, who in punishment for the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury were said by the popular rumour to be born with tails[‡]." What might have been thought of them when, at the word of an obscene tyrant, they scratched a pen across his name in their sacred books, and committed to the flame his bones? But in general these intervals are short; in general, too, the guilt is not participated in by the majority—it is a band of miscreants hated and dreaded by their own countrymen, from which the just seek refuge, content to avert their eyes from their foul misdeeds, repeating

> "—— satis est gentem effugisse nefandam[§],"

and then delighted to return to practise in the solitude of their minds the great lesson of Catholicity, which teaches them to respect and love the natives of every country as Christians and as men; for truth only confirms the sentence of the philosopher, who says, "Adhibenda est quædam reverentia ad-

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[*] Æn. iii. 60.

[†] S. Bonavent. Spec. B. Virg.

[‡] Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1250. Vertot, Hist. de Malte, vol. i. p. 510.

[§] iii. 653.

versus homines *." In the best of times, it is true, every ra may have some national defect. "We Englishmen," says Caxton writing in 1490, "be born under the domination of the moon which is never stedfast, but ever wavering," though notwithstanding, foreigners mistake who visit us, expecting therefore t find nothing but εὔιππον χώραν—a land fertile in horses, and th taste for equipages which might still suggest the Propertian line—

"pictoque Britannia curru."

All sorts of historic monuments seem to indicate that in comparison with continental manners the love of purity was at no time a national characteristic of the English. The French even in their normal state may still retain the character of the old Gauls, of whom Camillus said, "Gens est, cui natura corpora animosque magna magis quam firma dederit †." Their motives too may savour of the ancient passion, when, on invading Italy, they desired the Romans to proclaim "quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortales præstarent ‡." So that even a grave Spanish writer, Faustinus Arevalus, ends his book in allusion to Saintaeul the poet, with the words, "sed Galli, opinor, non indigent plausoribus, qui ipsis domi, ut aiunt, nascuntur §;" but on every ground it is an immense benefit to possess some great unfailing source of benevolence, which will prevent men from suffering their hearts and minds to be exhausted by dwelling on the faults of national character, and from succumbing to the influence of those ephemeral writings which express, not the mind of the mass of the nation, but the malignant passions of interested or insane individuals, who are its scourge. Defamation of nations is as evil as that odious vice which is directed against persons. When Matthieu Paris says, "The Spaniards are the refuse of the human race, ugly in countenance, despicable in their worship, detestable in their manners ||;"—when Philippe de Valois said—

"Angelus est Anglus, cui nunquam fidere fas est;
Dum tibi dicit Ave, sicut ab hoste cave,"—

we are presented with an order of bitter thoughts, which may naturally prompt us to turn our steps to search for that sweet fountain which yields the refreshment that can alone sustain us, passing through the poisonous desert of this world. "The lords of Germany," says Matthieu Paris, "detest the pride of the French, and detest each other. Neither would they suffer an Italian; but they were disposed to receive an Englishman for

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* Cicero de Off. i. 23.

† Livy v. 44.

‡ Id. v. 36.

§ Hymnodia Hispan.

|| Ad ann. 1254.

king as being of the same race as themselves, and in consideration of the resemblance between their languages[*]." Such men, thus detesting all who did not in some sense recall their own image, would be prepared for a movement that was to recognize no other source of unity or love but what egotism would prize, and what was merely natural, animal, and pagan. Catholicity moreover facilitates the harmony of nations, by teaching men to consider the virtues which form the characteristics of each country, and which are, besides, the result of its own influence. The remark of Pedro Messie of Seville, that Pontius Pilate was a native of Lyons, though he adds the French will not believe it[†], whatever be the deeds which can be alleged as capable of suggesting such a memory, will not outweigh the observation, that to the French may be applied what Plato says of the Athenians, and what a holy pope expressed under another form of words, "that when good they are greatly good[‡]." Neither the angry vociferations of some Englishmen against Ireland, nor the apparently innate hatred of some Irishmen against England will prevent those who behold all in the beauteous mirror of grace and truth from considering the virtues which distinguish both people in ancient and modern times. Ireland, often styled by the holy see, Insula sanctorum[§], and still deserving the glorious attribute of being insula fidei Catholicæ tenacissima[||];—Ireland, from which came Cœlius Sedulius, Columba, Columbanus, Colmannus, Aidanus, Gallus, Killianus, Maidulphus, Brendanus, and so many other renowned mediæval lights, whose schools were once so celebrated, that in the life of Sulgenus we read—

"Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi,
Ivit ad Hibernos sophia mirabile claros,"

may well be dear to all constant and true worshippers of Christ. Accordingly, while Protestantism has only defiance for those it terms rough Kerns, which live like venom where no venom else, but only they have privilege to live, Catholicism would perpetuate the high and ancient fame of Ireland. Mark how the old English writers speak of it:—"Corpora mentesque indigenarum," says Davis, "raris et extraordinariis naturæ dotibus prædita[¶]." I might cite in the same sense Bede, Huntingdon, Malmesbury, Hoveden,—greater authorities methinks than the leading journalists of London in the nineteenth century; but I would rather call attention to the consent of other nations in praising Ireland. Surius says that it is Christianæ religionis

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[*] Ad ann. 1257.

[†] Ses Diverses Leçons, ii. c. 8.

[‡] De Legibus, lib. i.

[§] Ap. Jocelin. Vit. S. Pat. c. 175.

[||] Analecta Sacra de Rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia, Colon. 1617.

[¶] John Davis in lib. de Defectu Regim.

dignitate florens*; and, quod stellarum numerum prope æquans patrociniis sanctorum†. Mariana says, quod omnem vicinarum gentium fidem excellens‡. St. Bernard, quod sanctis et mirabilibus viris plena§. Flodus, quod locus sanctus fœcundusque sanctorum, et quasi, inundatione facta, effundens sanctorum examina‖. Molanus, quod omnibus vicinis gentibus fide præpollens¶. St. Antoninus, quod tota insula sicut omni terrarum gleba fœcundior, ita sanctorum gloriosa simplicitate beatior**. I might cite Nauclerus, Polydorus, Sabellius, Canisius, and others; but here is already methinks sufficient to show that Catholicism, while producing this concordant voice and urging men to love Ireland, has besides imparted solid motives for its exercise. And are we to forget the titles which England, that land of such dear souls, still secure and confident from foreign purposes, receiving to her bosom confessors of the faith driven from their country by miscreants making shameful conquests, to none more horrible than to themselves, possesses to the affection of the faithful? If the magnanimous acts of recent times, and the extension of the truth, so wonderfully witnessed here, be not sufficient to move us, those who cherish ancient memories will not at least become insensible. "Jactet igitur Britannia," says Camden, "ad perennem suam laudem et gloriam, quod sicut Christianum regem inter omnes Christiani orbis gentes prima agnovit Lucium, sic primum Christianum imperatorem ex sànctissima Helena genuit Constantium, eundemque prima salutavit Augustum††."

But where can we find a nation that Catholicism does not teach and enable us to love? Its fruits are everywhere. When the eternal King shall open the clouds to judge the human race, and put an end to our rash sentences on the several kingdoms distributing national honours and rewards, as if to us alone had been amenable all commonwealths, how many motives for dearly loving all which human obduracy or malice had rejected shall then be made manifest! "Oh fælix Hispania," cries Balthasar, count of Castille, "quæ tot habet in cœlo sanctos intercessores et martyres!" Here is a whole order of ideas, furnishing them, which is presented by all nations. So the hymn of St. Boniface, sung in Fulda, ends with—

"O patria, O populus, tanto ditata patrono,
  Per quem vita venit, O patria, O populus ‡‡!"

Catholicity moreover knows how to render men capable of

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* 21 Novemb.
† 1 Julii.
‡ Lib. ii. p. 372.
§ In Vit. S. Malach.
‖ In Vit. S. Helani 6.
¶ 8 Maii.
** II. P. Hist. tit. 14, c. 4.
†† Camb. Brit. tit. Yorkshire.
‡‡ Brouverus Fulderus.

appreciating such titles; and therefore when Count Ferdinand Gonsalez of Castille, after the example of the kings of Leon, was committing Castille to the protection of St. Æmilian, after alluding to King Ramirus in his vow of devotion, he declares, that he acts in conformity with the universal will of his knights and rustics—visum fuit nobis et universitati nostrorum militum et rusticorum*. "Oh, by the memory of the old Saxon saints!" cries a recent English author, returning to such thoughts, "I implore you to lean upon the Catholic Church, through and beyond your own national institutions; throw yourself with a bold meekness into the capacious sympathies and magnificent affections of the Church universal; hide yourself in the mighty beating of her universal heart." But Catholicity furnishes again another mystic consideration to bind all nations to each other in the sweetness of love; for, as Hincmar, archbishop of Reimes, observes, all Catholic doctors deduce from the holy Scriptures that angels are appointed to preside over nations †; and, as St. Gregory says, to contend for them while acting justly ‡. "Every nation," says St. Clemens Romanus, "has its angel to whom it is entrusted:" on which deduction Tostatus and Lyranus dwell. The object of this ministry is to lead nations to the worship of the true God, to protect them from the injuries of demons, to suggest wise counsels, and so to temper all things that men may aspire to the blessed life §. At the same time, as guardians over countries, the angels are to be invoked against material dangers, in support of which observance the ancient writers cite the instances in Bithynia, those related by Socrates ||, by William of Tyre ¶, and by Nazarius, as also the deliverance of Constantine, Antelinus, Wenceslaus, and Alphonso Henriquez, in memory of which latter event was founded a military order in honour of the holy angels. So that, with the thoughts of faith, the same supernatural motives exist for respecting nations as for men. The influence of Catholicity, in regard to the reception given to Jews by the Christian population, forms no exception to this law. The tendency of public measures, advocated by the Church in former ages respecting them, amounted merely to maintain what we find required by the councils, namely, that "the Jews should not be placed over Christians; that Jews placed in the authority of stewards and agents should not presume to rule the Christian family; and that those who so employed them, whether bishops, priests, monks, or laics, should be deprived of communion, and, if they persevered, bound with

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* Yepes, Chron. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. i. 273.

† Opuscul. c. 14.

‡ Mor. xviii. 8.

§ De la Cerda, de Excel. Spirit. c. 31.

|| Hist. Eccles. v. 18.

¶ Lib. xvi.

anathema*." But these were merely defensive measures,
which experience perhaps proved the necessity, while the vi
with which private men were to consider the Jews as a nat
and setting apart the charge of usury and immorality brou
against them, were incompatible with any spirit but that of
active and comprehensive charity. "Until the Jewish peo
enter," says Rupertus, "the joy of the paternal house cannot
full: for though the Jews always hate the salvation of the Gentil
yet the Church of the Gentiles laments that the Jewish peo
should stand without, and that its own salvation should be a sc
dal to them †." But, again, not only for loving and respecting, b
for imitating other nations, Catholicism supplies facilities and m
tives which is an advantage that the forest teaches us to priz
for it observes how much the transplanting of some trees ten
to mitigate their wild nature, and to render them more gentl
"It is good for a state," says Plato, "when it cannot easily im
tate the bad qualities of its enemies, and adopt what is evil i
them §." But as all nations have the same duties, for,
omnibus voluit agnosci qui dignatus est omnibus nasci, as S
Leo says, those who are observed to discharge them wit
greatest fidelity may rightly be proposed to others as mo-
dels of imitation.—Omnes nationes venient à longè, portante
munera sua. Bede accordingly excites the English, as a pries
of the present day might do, by describing the piety which preva
on the continent. "Besides other needful instructions," he says
"the people should be taught how salutary to the whole Chri-
tian race is the daily participation in the body and blood of our
Lord, according to the custom prevalent in Italy, Gaul, Afric
Greece, and the whole Eastern Church, which devotion is now
so alien to the laity of our province, that the most religious of
them seem to suppose that they ought not to presume to com-
municate excepting at Christmas, and the Epiphany and Easte
while there are innumerable boys and girls of most innocent
conversation, youths and virgins, old men and women, who,
without any scruple, are able to receive the communion on
every Sunday, and festival of apostles and martyrs, as you hav
witnessed in the holy Roman Church ||."

Catholicism again prevents men from contracting that morbid susceptibility in regard to the honour of their own country, which plays so prominent a part in the mutual relations of some races in modern times, embittering all social intercourse, even domestic conversation, and furnishing the quiet lookers-on with

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[*] Concil. Meldens. c. 3. ap. Burchard. Decret. lib. xv. c. 31.

[†] Rup. Abb. de Divin. Officiis, vi. c. xi.

[‡] Plin. N. H. xvii. 12.

[§] De Legibus, lib. iv.

[||] Bedæ Epist. ad Egbertum.

a subject for disdainful laughter or sorrowful displeasure, accordingly as they are influenced by the old malice or the new charity. Our great poet fails not to avail himself of such occasions to excite merriment, when he represents the Irish captain, on hearing Fluellen say that there were not many of his nation, interrupting him, exclaiming, "Of my nation? What is my nation? A knave and a rascal! who talks of my nation?" "It would not be becoming at our age, O Clinias," says Plato, "to take offence at observations relative to the excellence of our respective countries[*]." If even the old philosophy disdained and avoided such debates, it ought to give no one pain to hear that they are incompatible with a just submission to the sacramental bond which unites all Catholics. In truth they argue a narrowness of mind which is most foreign from the enlarged and comprehensive glance at men and things imparted by the true religion. But how natural are they to the selfish world we live in! Our Lord, for merely alluding to the facts that there were many widows in their country when a foreign widow was especially favoured by God, and that there were many lepers in their country when a foreign leper was miraculously cured, excited such wrath among the Pharisees, that they sought to kill Him by precipitating Him from the rock on which their town was built. Heresy and infidelity in all forms revive the race of such Pharisees everywhere; but Catholicism perpetuates in a contrary direction the movement which was imparted to human minds by the Gospel. "It will not weigh with us, or conciliate any favour from us," says Antonio de Yepes, speaking of Brunehault, "that our Spain produced this queen, that she conferred the highest benefits on our order, that she was the grandmother of our Spanish kings; we will only adduce the authority of two great witnesses in her favour, St. Gregory the Great and St. Gregory of Tours[†]." We may admire the old Roman for saying, in allusion to the noble Spanish answer to Brutus, "The men of our blood would have rather said than heard that[‡];" and from the same motive repeat the injunction of Cicero to Plancus—"incumbe toto pectore ad laudem; subveni patriæ[§],"—we may only smile at the fond lines—

"Rien n'est bon, rien n'est grand, rien n'est digne de pris,
S'il ne croit, s'il n'est faict, s'il n'est né dans Paris.
Efface-moy Paris, tu effaces du monde,
Les roses et les lys, et la lumière blonde[||];"

and think how much happier it would be to resemble Cadmus

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[*] De Legibus, lib. i.

[†] Chronic. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. tom. i. 452.

[‡] Val. Max. vi.

[§] Cicero, Epist. x. 10.

[||] Le Bocage de Jossigny.

than the man so captivated, since the former could kiss a forei soil, and find a friendly face in nature everywhere—

> —— " agit grates, peregrinæque oscula terræ
> Figit, et ignotos montes agrosque salutat *."

But when we see striking evidence that the indomitable pri of race, however mixed, which has been the bane of anoth great nation, rendering it indocile to the teaching of God ministers, continues to cause a most unamiable and irration spirit of nationalism to be characteristic of its sons and daugh ters in all quarters of the globe, we must deplore the mark of a apostasy from that true faith which would, if not counteract by antagonistic principles, have extirpated it from the minds this otherwise generous and magnanimous people.

It is remarked, that those who inhabit the borders of an illustrious state are more exclusive in their patriotism than thos about whose unmixed association there can be no question in stituted. The Jura sophists are more Parisian than Paris itsel The land's end is the end of respect for foreigners to Britis soil. Borderers never turn their faces, as it were, from themselves in the mirror of an imposing name, as if by an exaggerate sentiment of nationality they could remove the impression uncertainty respecting the influences that attend their own geographical position ; but Catholicism, by presenting the image one common supernal country, and rendering all men equall sensible of its primal claim, effaces the prejudices which arise from the difference of local and earthly circumstances. It reminds the subjects of the greatest crown that after all they can allege in its honour, it is impossible to convert into a proof o superior virtue in a nation the evidence that it is accustomed, like the Chinese, to hold every other in sovereign disdain ; and it teaches the men of inferior states, that no political considerations, no measures of flagrant injustice, even such as Anglicanism would perpetuate, can reverse the eternal law of love promulgated by the Gospel before and after the incarnation ; for as the Abbot Joachim observes, " If the first chord of the Psalter begins from fear, the rest ascends to the altitude of charity †." In fine, and above all, by the sweet holy influence of its pure, comprehensive, and unearthly wisdom, born from mystic doctrine, propagated by a wonderful and divine renovation of nature, and fed and nourished by thrice holy universal rites of daily observance, Catholicism not only connects externally, but binds together by an interior indissoluble bond of most sincere affection the natives of every country. " It is not sufficient," says a

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* Ov. Met. iii. 1.

† Abb. Joach. in Jeremiam.

French author, "to love one's neighbour if one does not love him in the communion of the Church; for the communion of the Church is the logic of charity itself*." Practically it is the Church alone which teaches that, whether English or French, we ought to prove ourselves disciples of the true Master by loving all who sit beneath his feet; so that the words of our own poet should be on our tongue when addressing men of other countries—"Noble friends, that which combines us is most great, and let not a leaner action rend us." King Richarede of Spain, in embracing the Catholic faith, sent legates to the kings Guntheramnus and Childebert, saying, "that as he was now one with them in faith, so he sought to be united with them in charity †." "It is a deplorable thing," says a great French theologian, "that men of different nations should treat each other as barbarians, and regard each other reciprocally with aversion and contempt, for no other reason but that they have not come into the world in the same country. Hence the extent of the human race and the greatness of the earth which form the state and kingdom of God, instead of giving Him admiration and love for all those who are partakers of this vast empire, offer Him contrary impressions. Jesus Christ came to remedy this disorder. He taught men that there were to be no longer Scythians or barbarians; that all men being descended from the same God and Father, composed only one nation and one family; that their country was the earth; that though they might not speak the same language, they were not less brethren; that even children of one house might, by the event of dispersion, come to speak different tongues and forget their own, without losing the common bond of their relationship; that we ought to enlarge our hearts and minds, and endeavour to comprehend our own grandeur; and that we can still converse with our brother whose tongue is unintelligible to us, in that language of love, of civility, and benefits which we can all mutually understand ‡." In this respect the spirit of the religious orders is shown forth as an example to all men who aspire simply to be Christians, though it is wholly incompatible with the nationalism that has now so many advocates, even where Christianity itself is not pronounced obsolete. "What is most admirable in the company of Jesus," says an Italian author, "was the perfect union which bound men of all, and often of hostile nations, in the strictest friendship. It was a main object in the holy founder of the society of Jesus, to make men of all countries, subjects of different kings, feel of one heart.

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* Moreau Consid. sur la vraie Doctrine.

† S. Greg. Turons. lib. ix. 16.

‡ Le P. Thomassin. de l'Offic. divin. I. P. c. xv.

Those who belonged to his order were to lay aside all particu affection for those of their own nation. Every land was th country; and they were enjoined to evince especial regard t those who were of other nations. John III., king of Portug therefore replied to Father Miron, "I count no member your company as a foreigner." Father Everard Mercuria expressly says, "Let there be no Spaniard, or Italian, or Ge-man, or Frenchman, here; but let all be one in Jesus Christ. St. Ignatius, in order to preserve this union, prohibited conve sations respecting wars and political differences between nations Far different is the language of those politicians who belong t what they term the national, as opposed to the philanthropi school. Their very reserve and moderation wound the sense the Catholic heart. "Loin de nous neanmoins," says one o them, "toute inimitié contre l'étranger, en tant qu'étranger nous ne le haïsons pas, seulement nous lui préférons nos concitoyens [†]." Methinks an avowed hatred is nearer to heal than such negative merit. The fact is, however, that the Catholic view professed by all religious orders, and expressed b the ancient writers, both ecclesiastical and secular, of every clas is now converted into a crime for which those sacred communities are to be banished, and even the bishops of the Church o France denounced before political assemblies as enemies to their country. "What god," exclaims the tyrant Eteocles, "will hear you against your country [‡]?" Such is the cry now o senators. The just are said to be armed against their own nation, and ready to make war with it, merely because they disclaim an exclusive and Pagan attachment, irreconcileable with Christianity. The government of Berne, in 1845, in its decree having instituted the Corps Francs ostensibly for defence against foreign enemies, its organ, entitled "The Friend of the Constitution," commenting that clause, said, "The Jesuits are for us foreign enemies, because they have no country." The Gallican deputies, too, in France, had long been declaring that the French bishops were to be suspected as men having no country, though the only proof consisted in their generously professing submission to the eternal law of love, and in their practical consistency. The heathen poet, who can supply us with appropriate words when we are confronted with these objectors, seems at this point to direct us to Catholicity; for his prayer is as follows:—"O Peace, repress this suspicious humour, which occasions amongst us so many insulting words; breathe into us the grace of friendship; dispose us to sweetness and to indulgence."

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[*] P. Bartoli Hist. de S. Ignace de Loyolo, lib. iii.

[†] Le Correspondent, tom. vi. 15 Avril.

[‡] Phœniss. 606.

παῦσον δ' ἡμῶν τὰς ὑπονοίας
τὰς περικόμψους,
αἷς στωμυλλόμεθ εἰς ἀλλήλους[*].

This road can profit no one who is not charmed by such invocations. Yes: Catholicism may well attract the soul which feels the necessity of loving the men of all nations; for nature herself will suggest it when we listen to her without passion; and the heathen sage himself bears witness to this fact, saying,—"Ad summam, ne agam de singulis, communem totius generis hominum conciliationem et consociationem colere, tueri, servare debemus[†]." Yes; disguise it not—we have one human heart. All mortal thoughts confess a common home. True, our happiest, noblest thoughts come like sun-gleams, so depart; but to fix them, to arrest their flight, is the object of Catholicism; and it succeeds. Who has assisted, in these late years, at the general communion at Easter, in the church of our Lady in Paris, without feeling an affection for the French which no succeeding years, or sad events caused by the enemy of man disturbing all social order, have been able to destroy? The stranger, for one, can feel that it is so, and say with the great poet, "O may the contending kingdoms, whose shores once looked pale with envy of each other's happiness, cease their hatred, and may neighbourhood and Christian-like accord be planted in their sweet bosoms, that never war advance his bleeding sword betwixt England and fair France!"

"Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur[‡]."

The French prince bears true testimony when he cries—

"France, jadis on te souloit nommer,
En tous païs, le trésor de noblesse;
Car un chacun pouvoit en toy trouver
Bonté, honneur, loyauté, gentillesse,
Clergie, sens, courtoisie, proesse:"

and gives wise counsel when he adds—"Despair not, though now fallen,"—

"Mais que faces ton advocat Humblesse,
Que très joieux sera de toy guérir
Entièrement; metz en lui ta fiance.
Court de Romme, si te fait appeller
Son bras destre, car souvent de destresse
L'ai mise hors, et pour ce approuver
Les Papes font te séoir seul sans presse

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[*] Pax 995.

[†] Cicero de Off. i. 41.

[‡] Æn. i. 574.

À leurs destre ; se droit jamais ne cesse,
Et pour ce, dois fort plourer et gémir
Quant tu desplais à Dieu, qui tant t'avance.
Dieu a les bras ouvers pour t' acoler
Prest d'oublier ta vie pécheresse :
Requiez pardon, bien te vendra aidier
Nostre-dame, la très-puissant princesse,
Qui est ton cry et que tiens pour maistresse,
Les saints aussy te vendront secourir
Desquelz les corps ont en toy demourance ;
Ne vueilles, plus en ton péchié dormir
Très-crestien, franc, Royaume de France *."

And after all it is only our distempered imagination, sick of unholy solitude, or of still unholier intercourse with partial men, distorted by the false disjointed view which hateful journals yield, that under the mask of patriotism makes the vulgar single out their own nation, be it what it may, for the object of exclusive love. When you come to know men of other countries personally, you learn to feel assured that all are worthy of love in the family of our Lord ; that every where youth is dear to God, manhood admirable to his greater glory, and old age sweet and holy, as when it held our infant Saviour in its arms. Moreover, the same personal observation in lands unfortunate with regard to faith, can lead to the assurance that many may be enregistered in heaven's books as members of the mystic body, who seem by circumstances to stand apart ; for who can speak with the poor wanderers, literally without a shepherd, among the plebeian flock of England, and not feel compassion for them, pointing, as they do every day to the Catholic Church by the virtues which still bloom through all these obstructions ? Though that sick country, too careless, patient as she is, committeth still her body to the care of those physicians that first wounded her, in multitudes, there heresy has not been able to rear any thing. They are still wild nature's children, possessing minds like a rased table it is true, but endowed with only what their own misfortunes have added to the bitter fruits of our first mother Eve's transgression. The sowers of false seed having no great profit to expect by noticing them, they are still simple and unsophisticated. It is only many of the middle and upper ranks, fed with lying tracts, and journals, and sermons, that have been calvinisticated, as Southey says, till the milk of human kindness in their hearts has turned sour. With the young of common class at play, and the forgotten vulgar at their work, a certain communion and unity may be hoped for or conceived, and so, at least, in some sort enjoyed by the faithful ; for Catholicism has means of union

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* Charles d'Orleans, Complainte de France.

beyond the power of words to express, and past the infinite of thought to feel. Accordingly, mark how these very lost sheep, wandering strangers, are regarded by the strictest and most fervent Catholics. "In the year 1614, while I lay sick in bed, I had a vision," says Marina de Escobar, "of our infant Lord and St. Joseph; and our Lord charged me to pray to God for the kingdoms of England and of France*. In September, 1618, God inspired me with such a desire of the conversion of infidels, that my heart seemed to break. I besought this from God earnestly, and the Lord said to me, that I should demand from Him his justice that He might punish them; but I replied, 'No, O Lord, thy majesty will spare and correct, and lead them to thy Church.' Especially I had in view the infidels of Japan and China, and the heretics of France, England, and Germany; and this was the frequent subject of my prayer. One day the Lord called me, and asked if I were willing to accompany Him. 'Yea, Lord,' I replied. Then I felt as if wonderfully transported to a place whence I could view the whole world; and He said, 'Lo, see there France, England, Turkey, and the other parts of the earth, destitute of faith. Say now, which of these provinces do you wish that I should convert to the faith?' I replied, 'I wish that all should know and love Thee.' But the answer was, 'This is not accordant with my justice: say, which of them do you prefer?' Then, though France was immediately under my eyes, I nevertheless prayed for England, and said, 'O Lord, England.' The Lord replied, 'This region is not disposed to conversion,' signifying to me the great wickedness of the reigning king. Notwithstanding, the Lord said, that what I asked would be granted in a future time, not in this age, but hereafter. I replied, 'Thy majesty always says that things are to be done which I am not to see,' alluding to something else that was predicted to me; but the Lord said to me, that so it was expedient that I should not see certain things, though I should see others, and that thus it would be with England, which in future ages would be converted, not expressing any certain time, but that it was not to happen during the life of the present king now reigning†." The love of Marina for the inhabitants of the British islands extended to the heretics themselves, whose conversion she ardently sought‡, though the first and largest portion of what she terms "her spiritual alms" was carried by her to the English and Irish Catholics, while the residue only was distributed among the captives in Africa; for she considered that the persecution suffered in London was more dreadful than that in Algiers, where the captives only suf-

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* Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, &c. P. i. lib. iv. c. 9.

† Id. P. i. lib. v. c. 10.

‡ Id. P. ii. lib. ii. c. 15.

fered in their bodies, while in England the souls as well bodies were oppressed *. Though all nations of the wo were objects of her solicitude, yet above all she desired to be advocate with God for the English and Irish Catholics, wh alone she called always her sons, and protected with the tend ness of a mother. "In one vision," she says, "I saw a mul tude of men and women coming to me and demanding alms a bread; and when I turned to the Lord and besought Him to e able me to relieve them, He replied, that I had the key of l mercies, and might dispense them. All these persons wer English and Irish Catholics, amongst whom came some heretic whose guardian angels asked for them also; but to whom I replied, that the bread of sons should not be cast to dogs; whe they answered, that the dogs eat of the crumbs from their table Then I was led in spirit to the islands of Ireland and Englan where the Catholics seemed to say, weeping, 'Our mother and refuge, leave us not; stay with us.' I consoled them as far as I could, animating them to bear patiently their afflictions; 'My sons,' I said, 'if I could divide myself and remain with you, I would do it, but since that is impossible, I will forget none of you before God †.' On Sunday, the last of February, 1627, I again sought," she said, "from the Divine Majesty alms for my poor sons, for so I call the faithful captives in Mauritania, or the Catholics in England, who, though not captives, suffer dreadful vexations from that wicked heretical king, enduring an incredible persecution and affliction; and with this intention I found myself frequently in their regions, consoling these men so afflicted, and animating them as far as I could ‡. On this occasion, God having supplied me with means for their relief, I found myself in England, at the gate of a certain closed house, where many anxious and afflicted Catholics had met, about to deliberate as to the manner of escaping from the hard vexation of this wicked king; and they said, 'Shall we leave our houses and our properties, and pass, if we can, to Catholic countries?' —but then occurred to them grievous difficulties on account of their wives and children, and others. While thus consulting, two of the angels that accompanied me knocked at the door; those within answered, evincing a certain mournful perturbation, not knowing who knocked; but the angels speaking with great charity and affability, obtained that the door should be opened. We all entered; and the house, before obscure and dark, became suddenly illumined with a great splendour, and those Catholics were filled with great spiritual joy, consolation, magnanimity, and fortitude, so that they could hardly recognize themselves. Now they wished to suffer for the love of their

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* Id. P. ii. lib. ii. c. 15. † Id. c. 13. ‡ Id. c. 14.

Lord Jesus Christ, and to be crucified with Him, by that impious king and sacrilegious heretic. Such was the effect of the alms that we had brought with us from the celestial banquet. There was, moreover, added to them a new gift of the love of God, and an application of the precious blood of Jesus Christ*."

How affecting and admirable was this love of the inspired Spanish virgin, forgetting her own intense corporal pains, and during long intervals the dangers of her own beloved country, to minister by her prayers and her miraculous intercourse with heaven, to the spiritual wants of a distant and hostile nation! But mark again, how this sympathy with all members of the mystical body of Christ, without distinction of nation, is communicated by the Catholic faith to all classes of men belonging to it; and how we find in history curious proof that those who by their position and employment would now perhaps, if it were not for what had lately passed at Rome, be considered the least susceptible of such impressions, were formerly as fervent in their cultivation as those expressly called or visibly advancing to religious perfection. Before the execution of Father Thomas Holland in London, the Spanish ambassador sent a gentleman to him, recommending the king and kingdom of Spain to his prayers, and letting him know that he had ordered prayers in his chapel for his happy conflict. When Father Morse was drawn to Tyburn, the French ambassador met him on the way in his coach, and, in the sight of the whole multitude, saluted him, and craved his benediction; and afterwards attended him at the place of execution with all his retinue, begging his prayers for the common peace of Christendom, and for the king and kingdom of France in particular. On the martyrdom of Thomas Maxfield at Tyburn, Challoner says, "The Spaniards distinguished themselves upon this occasion; who joined themselves in a body, and though they met with many affronts, forced their way through the crowd to the sledge, and accompanied the confessor to the end of his stage, frequently exhorting him to constancy and perseverance, and begging for themselves his prayers and blessings with their heads uncovered and bowed down in the most respectful manner; which was a sensible mortification to some people." Such were ambassadors when Catholicism inspired them. But now, passing from these occasions of mournful and extraordinary interest, let us observe how the Catholic religion removes the national prejudices of common men, in regard to the natives of other countries who may be serving an apprenticehood to foreign passages sojourning amongst them, and how it sweetens and tranquillizes the intercourse of the whole human race. The very trees point the

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* Idme.

way here ; for they delight to flourish often where their natur sires seem to be unattainable. The cedar is from a hot climate. it grows on Phrygian mountains. Cold is strange to the lau and it is nowhere more abundant than on Olympus*. In primitive societies of the world how the divine will was ma fested in regard to the duty of respecting strangers, is known those who are the least familiar with the sacred Scriptures. vague tradition, or the voice of reason, induced many of t heathen sages to drop words of admonition conformable to Plato, for instance, says, that "a mere regard to our own inter should teach us to neglect nothing to arrive at the end of li without having to reproach oneself for a fault against stranger —*μηδὲν ἁμάρτημα περὶ ξένους ἁμαρτόντα ἐν τῷ βίῳ, πρὸς τὸ τέλ αὐτοῦ πορευθῆναι*†, and he remarks that it is common to children, when they come to hear that they are the guests—*πρόξενοι*—of a city, to feel an inclination for it, and to regard it a a second country, *ὡς δευτέρᾳ οὔσῃ πατρίδι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν*‡, adding indeed this observation, which somewhat detracts from their merit, that sooner or later one resembles those with whom one loves to live, whether they be good or evil, though one may be ashamed in the latter case to praise them openly§. The Christian doctrine, renewing and extending by a more spiritu interpretation the first injunctions of the law, reduced the manners of men to the strictest conformity with the divine doctrine of unity which it established ; and it is therefore in the lives and instructions of the most perfect Christians that we can observe its operation best. "If any one disdains a foreign brother and a stranger," says St. Ephrem, "him will God reject ; but he who receives him with charity, receives God ||." "I have no especial preferences," says Ives de Chartres ; "for every person who shines in life and doctrine would please me alike ¶." A hermit, as we read in the lives of the fathers, spoke thus : "There were two brothers who lived near him, one a foreigner, and the other a native ; and the foreigner was more negligent, and the native very studious. Now the foreigner died ; and lo! the old man in a vision beheld a multitude of angels escorting his soul to heaven : and, on arriving at the gates, there was heard a voice, saying, He was negligent, but he was a foreigner, and therefore, in consideration of his having been a stranger, let him enter. And after this the other brother died, and all his relations came to him ; and the old man, finding no angels coming for his soul, wondered, and fell on his face before God, and said, Is such glory given to the negligent foreigner, and hath he who was always

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* Plin. N. H. xvi. 59.

† De Legibus, lib. v.

‡ Id. lib. i.

§ Id. lib. ii.

|| Serm. iv.

¶ Ivon. Carnot. Epist. 98.

so diligent deserved not the same? And a voice came, saying, This last had consolations at his death; but the foreigner saw no friendly countenance hanging over him, and he groaned and wept; and therefore has God consoled him*."

It would detain us too long on this road, were we to attempt a review of Catholic manners in regard to the intercourse of natives with foreigners, though they yield a charming avenue to the Church which produced and nourished them. On the gate of Sienna, which is called Camullia, was this inscription, "Cor magis tibi Sena pandit—Sienna opens to you her heart more than her gate." This was the spirit of the Christian civilization; but in proportion as men resist the impression of Catholicity, the sentiment disappears and manners change, till a stranger needs the caution suggested by Minerva, when she says to Ulysses,—

Μηδέ τιν' ἀνθρώπων προτιόσσεο, μηδ' ἐρέεινε·
οὐ γὰρ ξείνους οἵδε μάλ' ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχονται,
οὐδ' ἀγαπαζόμενοι φιλέουσ', ὅς κ' ἄλλοθεν ἔλθοι †.

If you are "not of this country, though your chance is now to use it for your time," the scene described by Dante will often be repeated before you; for he says,—

"Soon as arrived, they with an eye askance
Perused me, but spake not; then turning, each
To other spake conferring ——— ‡."

In that region of the bad he found the cold neglect of foreigners perpetuated; for Diomede, describing certain spirits, says to him, "And they perchance, for they were Greeks, might shun discourse with thee §." The son of Father Thames, as the stranger was once called in Angoulême, and the drinker of the Rhone—Rhodanique potor, as the old poet styles the native of Gaul—when they exchange countries, must not trust for the affectionate greeting in a foreign land, that each may well desire to concealment of the land of their birth; for there will be always some sharp-sighted man of little soul, ready at every turn to say, like the pedant in an old play, "Quantum ex vultu et ex amictu licet conjicere, ego vos exoticos puto:" but this very circumstance supplies a direction; for it is curious to observe how the conclusion depends upon the religious point of view. The heretic Berengarius, alluding to the doctrine defended by the great Cardinal Humbert, styled it, "Errorem ineptissimi Burgundi," which drew from Lanfranc these words, "Qui si etiam Burgundus esset, insipienter tamen arrogantia tua nomen

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* De Vita SS. Patrum, c. 18.

† vii. 31.

‡ Infer. i. 23.

§ 26.

suæ gentis pro infamia sibi ascriberet, quum spiritus Domini vult spiret, et quem vult aspiret, et Domini sit terra, et unive qui habitant in ea." The heretic, still persisting in calling h "The Burgundian," Lanfranc repeated his Catholic rem strance, saying, "Quem quasi exprobrando Burgundum no nas, quasi non possit Deus habere in Burgundia servos suos*. The preponderance of national over Catholic impressions whi can be traced in almost every page of Mathieu Paris, gives ri to another instance, which we find thus expressed in his accou of the events in 1247: "Now came into England," he say "certain foreigners of rank, very poor and needy, who aspire with open mouths to swallow up the king's money;" yet wit the same breath he records with much complacency his ow journey to Norway, with a letter from Henry III., and how th king of Norway loaded him with precious gifts for himself, altogether royal; for which apparently he was no less open-mouthe than those of whom he complained so bitterly. The mere natural view of men, which is gained by turning from Catholicity, leads to the two contradictory evil results of rejecting strangers as foreigners and fellow-subjects of eminent merit, as being in their own country; for, as St. Anthony of Padua, commenting on the words, "No prophet is accepted in his own country," says, "So it is generally—for envy so blinds men that they cannot see what is near them, though they can see what is far off. This seems contrary to nature; but yet this is true with many; and the reason is, that self-love which is preferred to the general is the root of envy; and where such love reigns, the saying of the Saviour is verified; and then that is called your country, because you wish to appropriate it to yourself and to take away from your neighbours; but when the love of the common good reigns, that is no longer called your country, but the country of all†." Catholicity, on the contrary, leads to the twofold result, which without faith might seem to imply as great a contradiction, of honouring alike both, for similar and for dissimilar reasons, the fellow-countryman and the stranger. William of Rishanger indeed, the monk of Ramsey, says, that Eymerus, bishop elect of Winchester, who blamed his own countrymen for having afflicted the natives by various oppressions, was despised by the English as a foreigner, though a man of eminent sanctity‡; and the great Mazarine was ridiculed in France as a foreigner, much from the same feeling as prompted Torquatus of old to call Cicero an alien by way of reproach; but such opposition can never be traced to Catholicity, which

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* Lanfranci lib. de Corpore et Sang. Domini.

† S. Ant. Pad. Serm. Fer. II. Hebd. iii. in Quad.

‡ Chronic. 9.

requires, on the contrary, that the Church and Christendom should furnish in some sense the privileges of naturalization everywhere to all men in common, as they did literally to the Irish in Spain till recent times, and which interdicts moreover to the clergy, no inconsiderable portion of each nation, national prejudice as incompatible with their very habit, as appears from the words she addresses to them on receiving it, saying, "Accipe vestem sacerdotalem per quam charitas intelligitur; patens est enim Deus, ut augeat tibi charitatem et opus perfectum[*]." To the extension of these principles and their practical results, our ancient histories bear repeated testimonies, both direct and incidental; of which latter we may cite as an instance the fact of St. Edmond the Englishman becoming the popular saint of France, after his death at Pontigny, his name being given in baptism, as that of the privileged patron of the surrounding country. The charities of foreigners, dispensed in the land which received them, might also be adduced, as when, in 1399, the parish church, in London, of St. Martin in the Vintry was rebuilt by the executors of Mathew Columbars, a stranger born, a Burdeaux merchant of Gascoyne and French wines[†]; and Sir Walter Manny, another Frenchman, gave thirteen acres of land in London to form a cemetery for those who should die of the plague.

In 1112, we find some canons of Noyon sent into England to make a subscription for that church, which produced so much that the restoration was effected in two years and a half[‡]. After the burning of the cathedral of Laon in 1112, some of the canons passed into England to beg for the work of rebuilding it, and brought back a great sum[§]. A more remarkable instance was that of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, who, "lest poverty should turn aside any minds from laudable discipline, bequeathed his precious library to the poor, and delivered it to the prudent administration of the chancellor of Paris, in usus indigentium scholasticorum[||]." Carr, in his Piety of Paris, published in 1666, mentions another instance. Speaking of the hospital named La Charité, in St. German's suburb, he says, that a pious knight of England returned home so well seasoned with its agreeable odour, that by his last will he bequeathed 900 pounds to that blessed place. The whole Church, therefore, throughout the world, and not one nation, one diocese, one estate perhaps, commemorates the alms of the man who is Catholically inspired.

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[*] Pontif. Rom. ord. Presb.

[†] Stowe.

[‡] Moët. de la Forte-Maison, Antiquités de Noyon, 406.

[§] Vitet, Rapport sur les Monuments Hist. du Nord-ouest de la France.

[||] De Richebourcq, Ultima verba factaque, &c.

But in all relations of social life, the benefit resulting from Catholic union of nations is manifest. English workmen France, during the influence of faith, were received with affect and honour. Among the iron-smiths of Paris in the l century we find many Englishmen,—"Richard of Birmingh John of Norfolk, John of Bromley *;" as also among the mak of swords—"John of Salisbury, John the Englishman, Edw l'Englois, John of London, Henry l'Englois, and others †." V have lived to see under the reign of what is termed humani and fraternity the same class of English driven out like ma factors from that country,—expelled with violence, wound plundered, and stript of every thing, supplying thus a co ment on that language of the city of Calvin, where the barbaro phrase "étranger quelqu'un" signifies to rob him. We hav seen proposed to legislatures measures of confiscation agai those who, either like Camillus through horror of social conte tions ‡, or, like Catholics of old, through desire of greater re gious consolations than they can find at home, repair to forei countries,—measures that recal the dilemma imposed on Num when he wished to travel, of which the poet says,

> "Numen abire jubet, prohibent discedere leges,
> Pœnaque —— posita est patriam mutare volenti §.

And yet, whatever orators in modern parliaments and demagogues in popular gatherings may pretend, it is not a crime, as even the heathen patriot acknowledges, to be absent, under the circumstances they contemplate, from one's country;—"Nam multi," he says, "suam rem benè gessere et publicam patria procul: multi, qui domi ætatem agerent, propterea sunt improbati ‖." Experience still may prove the fact thus noticed, offering some consolation for an undoubted evil which is due to turbulent men and to heresy. But the great Catholic bonds having grown weaker when not openly renounced, men return to the vulgar gentile notions of nationality, and, in fact, to the use of the word ἀλλόφυλος, like the Greeks, which the old philosophy even did not dare to sanction; and they pursue these views with a savage, reckless exclusiveness which would render impracticable the social ameliorations resulting to mankind from the principles of divine faith.

The road of charity or union, as we were led to observe in the beginning, has two branches, each commanding a clear view of religious truth—of which, as yet, we have followed only that which belongs to strangers; but from this point where yon woodman stands, we can easily strike into the other by a cross

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* Étienne Boileau, Le Livre des Métiers, vii. † Id. x.
‡ Liv. v. 51. § Ovid, Met. xv. 1. ‖ Epist. vii. 6.

path, and remark how Catholicism invites the lovers of the human race, by removing the second class of obstacles in their way, which we already distinguished as those arising from the inequalities of fortune and rank; and this is a road which in practical results will be found, I believe, quite as fruitful as the last while following it to the central light that formed the Catholic civilization.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROAD OF THE COMMONALTY.

ONE sweet, harmonious mass of foliage spreads its inviting shade around us at this spot, where once the very trees denoted hate and separation; for even myrtles represented them. Pliny relates that two myrtles long stood before the temple of Quirinus, the one called Patrician, the other Plebeian—that the patrician lasted many years luxuriant and joyful, "so long in fact as the senate flourished, while the plebeian was dried up and squalid, which afterwards recovered as the patrician withered, when the authority of the Fathers was on the wane, and its majesty declined*." In the forest of the Church all trees and shrubs, the lofty and the low, the rich and the scantily furnished, grow up together side by side; and, instead of injuring, assist, support, and nourish one another, in the rare union of what belongs to every climate and the beauty of an earthly Paradise, in which God, as of old, may be said to walk with man. Among trees, some are wholly of the woods, as it were common; and others, as Pliny says, of more urbanity, select and cultivated. Nature seems to have had in view ornament alone in producing within the forests of the tropical regions such trees as those which produce the rose-wood, king-wood, tulip-wood, zebra-wood, satin-wood, and sandal-wood. These seem to form a select, polished class, which would be useless without other timber; but the combination of all kinds of trees characterizes the lovely scenery which we are about to observe upon the present road.

To little purpose would the bitter thoughts connected with the separations of nation have been removed, if those arising from difference of degree and condition had been suffered to remain, which, though within lesser confines, would operate as fatally to impede the action of love, which is what best, and indeed alone satisfies the human heart; but Catholicity stands

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* Nat. Hist. lib. xv. 36.

full in view at this turning, as having been equally effectua dissipating the evil consequences of both ; for in the soci which recognizes neither Greek nor Jew, there is, as St. C ment of Alexandria remarks, "neither slave nor free—*καινὴ ἡ κτίσις ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀφιλόνεικος καὶ ἀπλεονέκτητος καὶ ἰσόδικαία· φθόνος γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ θείου χοροῦ ἵσταται*[*]. How com this gentle concord in the world, that hatred is so far fr inequality to sleep amidst all difference of degree ! The anci sages, who "thought equality alone was that which suited w their deepest grasp of heavenly society," sought in vain for t results which Catholicity produces. If that rule prevailed whi degree would be preserved according to the will of nature, th is of God, the obstructions springing from it would be levell because humility is the chief of all its virtues. A spirit, th which tends to level whatever would oppose it, "not with th democrat's rude tyranny, but by diffusing meekness and co descendingness of heart," will naturally attract all those w pursue this road prompted by affection for mankind ; and th holy love they will find lies at the core of all the fruit which i gathered within the enclosures of the Catholic Church. Th words in ancient characters, which are found inscribed along th way, demonstrate that she has nothing to learn from moder teachers, who oppose or depreciate her influence. "Omne honorate : fraternitatem diligite[†]," meets the eye as if grave on every tree in the forest of the Church, where, as a moder writer observes, the love of equality is known as humility, an enthusiasm for freedom as charity and self-renouncement.

I have not to prove here the necessity of maintaining differences of rank and degree in human society ; but, without bein in the least under the influence of events now passing, calculate rather to lead men mistaking indignation for reason to a contrary conclusion from that to which I wish us to speed, we must become sensible of the immense attraction which Catholicity exercises, by its tendency to arrange these differences in their true order, and to obviate the evil consequences to which they often lead in opposition to the reign of that general love which we are seeking here.

Rank is necessary ; no one of a sane mind can question it ; but what is to be thought of the separations and absence of all fellowship which some men deduce from this necessary institution ? What of the disdain and negligence which it is made to foster ? It is a Catholic king himself of the old mark who is represented exclaiming,—

"O ceremony, show me but thy worth !
Art thou aught else but place, degree, and form,

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[*] Strom. v. 30.

[†] S. Pet. ii. 2.

Creating awe and fear in other men;
Wherein thou art less happy, being fear'd,
Than they in fearing?"

And now, reader, pause a moment and remark what multitudes are passing like ourselves along this road, who are all seeking the cheerful thoughts and easy, joyful manners which can only be obtained by proceeding on it to the very end at the Catholic Church. Do you ask who these are? Certainly they are not those who ask each morning, is this great personage or that in town, in order that they may speed to visit him, as if the day had no higher occupation; but they are at one time men like the poets of old, who say it is better to live with equals—

τὸ γὰρ εἰθίσθαι ζῆν ἐπ ἴσοισιν
κρεῖσσον——————[*],

who warn us from courting the great, saying,

"Vive tibi; et longe nomina magna fuge [†];"

who show that love and the manners incident to greatness are incompatible,—

"Non benè conveniunt nec in unâ sede morantur
Majestas et amor [‡]:"

they are, at others, the lost and benighted in these days of darkness and calamity who no less re-echo the same voices:—

——————"Is it strange, they say, that
This poor wretch should pride him in his woe?
Take pleasure in his isolation, and hug
The scorpion that consumes him? Is it strange,
That girt with icy chains, whose stern bounds
Shut him from all that 's good and dear on earth,
His soul asserts not its humanity?
That man's mild social nature rises not in war
Against the rules of vanity?—No—'tis not strange.
He thinks, feels, acts, and lives just as his
Father did: the unconquered powers
Of precedent and custom interpose between
The great and virtue."

At another time the complaints of the ancients and moderns conspire to admonish us to mount to the true source of the love and harmony that attract us on this road. We hear Cicero

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[*] Eurip. Med. 123.

[†] Ovid, Trist. iii. 4.

[‡] Ovid, Met. ii. 10.

establishing the fact that neither he nor any other men of h origin can ever hope to be admitted to a common ground benevolence with the nobility: "Hominum nobilium," he say "non fere quisquam nostræ industriæ favet; nullis nostris officii benevolentiam illorum allicere possumus: quasi natura et gener disjuncti sint, ita dissident a nobis animo et voluntate *." Whe it was proposed in France, in the year 1758, to permit the nobility, as in Italy, to mingle with the other classes, it must be admitted that those who opposed such views, and maintained that nobility should be exclusively military, evinced a pride and disdain, with an ardour for warlike glory, which might reasonably suggest to reflecting men that some pacific change was desirable to bring things back to the thoughts of more Catholic ages, and that there were greater evils to be feared than the contingency contemplated of a noble boy having to wear the apron of an apprentice lad †. We overtake, in fine, among those sensible to this especial attraction, the men of modern views, who only judge of society by what they derive from personal experience and their own good sense, and who as they tread this road are urging the need of what unknown to them Catholicity alone supplies. "A great deal of the unhappiness of the world," they remark, "proceeds from the artificial pretensions which are engrafted upon the distinctions of rank. Surely there will be a prodigious increase of social comfort when men universally come to feel the real dignity of all useful employment, and when it is understood that a toilsome occupation is not necessarily connected with a servile and ignorant mind ‡." Policy, too, suggests the need of some great supernatural power here to obviate the jarring discord that faith and charity alone can permanently cure. 'Tis much, we know, when there is no longer one faith, one body, one spirit; but more, others will declare, when envy breeds unkind divisions; there comes the ruin, there begins confusion. Certainly youth, at all events, as we observed on its especial path, would rather that manners were so ordered that all members of the human family could associate together at times on equal terms, that all could act and speak, on every occasion, like sons and daughters of a common parent, that all could even practise in some manner the same corporal labours, which have a natural attraction of their own, as poor prince Arthur witnesseth, saying, if he kept sheep he would be as merry as the day is long. To observe the rich and select few, as the world fashions them, among joyous innocent people of the common sort, is not a spectacle to fire any generous and noble nature with a desire of

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* In Ver. ii. lib. v.

† Le Marquis de Lassay, La Noblesse Militaire, ou le Patriote François.

‡ Ch. Knight's William Caxton.

resembling them. Smiles and careless merriment are more likely to be at its command than any jealous longings, when the exquisite distinctions of rank are punctiliously maintained. Youth, whose sentiments, as we before observed, furnish a great indication of what truth suggests, will generally, as we also remarked on another road, try as much as possible to conceal its being of the number of the few, when born among them, in order to feel itself more unreservedly, in heart at least, one of the unfettered many.

Such, then, are the impressions experienced by those who are treading this path. Now let all these persons, kings, poets, gentiles, novi homines, philosophers, and boys, direct their eyes straightforward, and if they be really moved by the desires they express, they will, unless impeded by other causes, or induced again to turn off to follow another path, be led necessarily to recognize in its unrivalled perfection the Catholic Church as containing the only true source of that felicity of universal love and affectionate intercourse between all classes by which they profess or imagine themselves to be actuated. To be convinced of this, we have only to study the Catholic doctrine, and to witness its results. For, in the first place, hear what Catholicity teaches respecting the reason of social distinctions: "If grandeur," says the Prince de Conty, "was not all for your neighbour; or if he who possessed it could keep it as a thing which belonged exclusively to himself, it would be the greatest of all misfortunes, since it would have no other use and no other employment than to be the nourishment of pride and of self-love *." You see, therefore, from what a peril greatness can escape by means of the Catholic doctrine. As in the luxurious forests of Louisiana, the beauteous plants wandering from tree to tree traverse rivers, casting over them a bridge of flowers, so does the Catholic religion make passable, amidst the sweets of a wondrous creation, to all whose souls are fructified and manners spiritualized by its grace, the very gulfs which human or diabolic pride had destined for their victims. But, again; mark what are the sounds that awaken the echoes here. They are all like the tone of the Litany of the blessed sacrament, "a superbia vitæ libera nos, Domine." You would remove the exclusions, the separations, the selections of the proud? Hear Tertullian, then, inviting you to the Catholic society: "Quid denique singulares Christiani? non erit, opinor, legitimus Christianus, nisi frater, aut filius." Hear Antonio de Escobar drawing the conclusion from his words: "We must, therefore, each seek to fly from isolation, and appear with others before God †." Do you cry with

* Les Devoirs des Grands, par le P. de Conty, xii.

† In Evang. Comment. Paneg. vol. vii.

the poet of old, seek not the privilege of flying aloft over other men, so as to seem to be a dispenser of the very sun wh gives light to mortals,

> ———"Quod vero nomine pœna
> Non honor est *."

Then hear the Catholic voice expressed by the seraph of As saying, as if repeating the same poet's very words to the a bitious, "pœnam pro munere poscis :"—"The privilege that ask from God is, that I may never have a privilege from men †:" "Hoc meum, et fratrum meorum est privilegium, nullum habe privilegium super terram, sed omnibus obedire et inferiores n omnibus reputare ‡." In all ranks, as the old poet says,

> Ὕβρις φυτεύει τύραννον §.

But as danger is least within the lower, and the mean, for "virt rerum in medio consistit," Catholicity would never multipl needlessly the rest. And so, again, has it attractions; since, f aught I see, they are as sick that surfeit with too much, as they that starve with nothing; it is no mean happiness, therefore, t be seated in the mean. "Privatum," says Cicero, "oporte æquo et pari cum civibus jure vivere, neque summissum et abjectum, neque se efferentem: tum in republica ea velle, qu tranquilla et honesta ‖." This is what Catholicity also lays down; and Catholic authors, even of the political order, exto the state of society in which there is the least distinction o class. "The majority of citizens," says the Signor Octavie Fregoso, in the Courtier of Castiglione, "should be neither too rich nor too poor. Those who are too rich become often proud and insolent, and the poor vile and cunning. The greater th number of moderate fortunes, the greater will be the stability o states. A universal mediocrity in this respect is the most wholesome." Yet some must be pre-eminent: but these, if obedient to what Catholicity enjoins, might represent each what poets love to recal,

> "The last grand spirit of the age of gold,
> Simple and spirited, innocent and bold;"

for Catholicity delivers him from that pride, haughtiness, and disdain, the least of which haunting a nobleman loseth men's hearts; and leaves behind a stain upon the beauty of all parts besides, beguiling them of commendation.

Then would not be mother earth "a stepdame to her numerous sons, who earn her unshared gifts with unremitting toil?"

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* Met. ii. 2.
† Spec. Vit. S. Fran. c. 4.
‡ S. F. Apophtheg. xxxiv.
§ Œd. Tyr.
‖ De Offic. i. 34.

Eminent, not by exclusions, but by social necessities and corresponding virtues, the great, who fear not to lose a position useful to all, by heeding what those who would be distinguished rather to the detriment of others, may allege, are encouraged and exhorted by the Catholic religion, to be in manners, even to their very language, popular. Count Balthasar Castiglione, who in this instance only expresses its spirit, requires that "no words should be used, even in conversation, but such as are familiar to the people." In regard to the least as well as to greatest symptoms, the seeds of pride are thus denounced, the whole road responding with echoes to the voice which says, "Rectorem si te posuerunt, noli extolli: esto in illis, quasi unus ex illis." "Men, when raised to honours, forget," says an ancient author, "their own condition, and, elate with vanity, begin to despise others whom they will not recognize as equal to themselves in the order of nature. These disdain to be admonished and corrected, and are exasperated rather than benefited by reproof; and then come flatterers, who, to ingratiate themselves in favour with them, praise them in the desires of their hearts. Unlike these, our Count of Flanders, that true representative of a Catholic in high station, who "was ever humble and intent as a father on providing for the public utility *."

We should not neglect to observe the religious practices by means of which Catholicism serves to unite all classes. How many, for instance, who follow this path, coming towards us from the central source of unity, bear in their hands that chaplet which is a symbol and a pledge of those affectionate bonds to which all ranks of Catholics who obey their religion are subject? for, as an ancient author says, "One fruit of the confraternity of the Rosary is the softening down of differences between persons of different ranks, and making them all one as brothers—for this brotherhood unites emperors and kings, princes, dukes, counts, and barons, and knights, and empresses, queens, and noble ladies, with artisans and labourers, and the poor, young and old, apprentices and masters,—all are made brethren †."

The action of Catholicity on this attractive road may be considered in its twofold character, as having for result to reconcile the humbler classes to the great, and to secure for the great or rich the inestimable privilege of being able to lose sight of their own distinctions in the sweetness of an intercourse with the lower classes, which under no other influence is found either possible or desirable. Where faith does not prevail, there may be men from time to time, like Camillus, who made a vow to build a temple to Concord on

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* Fr. Gualter. Tarvanens. Vita S. Caroli Martyris, c. x.

† Fossaei Grani-Aquensis De Rosario, lib. i. 10.

the cessation of the civil feuds between the people and t senators, whose opinions, like his, to yield to the people, may intervals prevail; but, after all their temples, there will be st a secret alienation of mind in the lower towards the upp classes, which only a regard to their own pecuniary profit ca prevent each day from breaking into open insolence or san guinary revolt. There is, then, as Balmes remarks, "nothing t act upon the people but the ardent thirst to ameliorate thei condition, and to share in the enjoyments of the rich—nothin to render their present sufferings supportable by the prospe of a happy futurity—nothing to temper their hate, to diminis their envy, to appease their anger—nothing to elevate thei thoughts above the earth, to detach their desires from sensu pleasures—nothing to form in their heart a solid morality, capable of restraining them on the steep declivity of vice an crime *." Then we find a population composed of such persons as Sidonius Apollinaris describes, saying, "These are they wh envy men that wear tunics their leisure, the military their pay, hunters their provisions, merchants their fairs, legates their presents, informers their shares, provincials their plunder, municip officers their scarfs, treasurers their loads, tax-gatherers their measures, accountants their salaries, wild-beast showmen their benches, prætorians their gifts, citizens their truces, publicans their perquisites, clerks their respect, nobles their birth, superiors their precedence, equals their company, judges their laws. the superannuated their privileges, scholars their schools, pedagogues their allowance, and learned men their learning †." Then, nevertheless, we hear of nothing but the virtues of the people, of their simplicity; but, says one, who truly loved the lower classes, though not in reference to such perversion of their character, "Where is your simplicity? All day and night you think evil against God and your neighbour, and you say, I am simple. Oh, I wish you were simple ‡!" Such love of equality at last assumes the form in which it appears in Cade, when he would have it thenceforth treason for any to call him other than Lord Mortimer. The Catholic faith forms a population influenced by views and feelings diametrically opposed to such a development of character, for where it predominates the wish is general "se malle in loco humili salvari quam in alto periclitari §."

"But you say to justify your impatience," observes an old author, "how many kings and princes are saved, and without suffering with the poor. It is easy, amidst abundance, to speak of patience, and labour, and oppression, but not so easy to practise or suffer them. I confess it is so. But were these kings and

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* Le Prot. comparé au Cath. c. 47.

† Sid. Apoll. Ep. lib. v. 7.

‡ De Regimine Rusticorum, 112.

§ Ivon. Carnot. Epist. 88.

princes free from suffering and labour? Were Charlemagne, St. Louis, and these counts and nobles idle men, without toils and pains? Imo vere si in timore Dei ambulare voluerint plus quam pauperes affliguntur. The great must recognize the obligation of all men, however exalted, to labour, and after paternal manners too, like peasants—yea, like Antonius, Macharius, Arsenius, Josaphat, Syncletica, Bridget, Benedict, Maurus, Arnulph, duke of Lorraine, Caroloman and Childeric, sons of the king of France, Rachis, king of the Longobards, and many others. Besides, how much greater are the temptations of the upper classes than those of the common people! Rustics have only to resist impatience, which is more easily overcome than pleasure and ambition. 'Non sine magna virtute,' says Seneca, 'arridens fortuna tolerari potest.' Simple and poor rustics therefore should be consoled by a remembrance of their greater facility to preserve faith and virtue; but, as was said of Hannibal, that he knew how to conquer, but not how to use his victory; so we may say of rustics, that they know how to conquer, but not how to use their victory, by practising virtues which to them are easy. Oh, what rewards hereafter for poor simple laborious persons, when the gift of a cup of water will not lose its recompense! These vigils, the cold and heat, the labour and necessity, which the faithful rustic has to endure from his boyhood to decrepit age—what a crown awaits them for all this! True, the rustic and the workman, as from ancient days, are variously oppressed, and they stand in need consequently of much patience; but these considerations must succeed in reconciling them with their condition*." The lowest of the people is then prompted to say with St. Lydwina, "If I have not riches and delights like the wealthy, I have poverty and suffering in common with many, and I am grateful to be as others†." No fable was more popular or true in its testimony than that of Le Savetier et le Financier, which is taken from the old Catholic legend of the rich man envying the gaiety of the poor, and destroying it by his well-meant but indiscreet generosity. Best state, contentless, hath a distracted and most wretched being, worse than the worst content. Oh, rich and great! as you sweep on in splendid equipages—see, when through the streets songs are heard at evening, and the sweet notes of the harp sound beneath a palace window, there are no envious glances fixed on you—

"Here are twenty souls, happy as souls in a dream,
They are deaf to your murmurs, they care not for you,
Nor what ye are flying, nor what ye pursue!

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* De Regimine Rusticorum, &c.

† Laur. Beyerlinck Apophthegm. Christian.

Besides, we must take into account the pleasure of overlooking, and of forgiving, not unknown to the Catholic population. What do you want us to do? they reply to the false friend, as if they had read what Euripides left us written in the Phœnicians, "We know better; it is necessary to suffer the folly of the great." But they have deeper thoughts than these, of which those that are social or political may be first noticed; for they know instinctively, as the Chorus says, that the little without the great are a weak rampart for their country, but that with their aid the weak become strong, while the great with the aid of the little are preserved; but, adds the poet, the foolish hear not these maxims,—

καίτοι σμικροὶ μεγάλων χωρὶς
σφαλερὸν πύργου ῥῦμα πέλονται·
μετὰ γὰρ μεγάλων βαιὸς ἄριστ᾽ ἂν,
καὶ μέγας ὀρθοῖθ᾽ ὑπὸ μικροτέρων.
ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δυνατὸν τοὺς ἀνοήτους
τούτων γνώμας προδιδάσκειν[*].

The people, when influenced by faith, are not in the number of these unwise who reject such maxims. The great and the vulgar are united in the general bond of love which connects together the great family. Would you mark an instance? Behold a scene sad and horrible, but immortalized by poetry in ages when insurrections were abhorred by all alike. "Who put to death Fernand Gomez?" Fuente de Ovejuna, is the reply. The whole city, by the heroic and invincible resolution of its inhabitants, makes itself responsible for the punishment of that oppressor. "According to your orders, sire," says the judge to king Don Fernando, "I repaired to Fuente de Ovejuna, and spared no effort to discover the authors of the crime. I could obtain no information to my question who committed it. All with one unanimous testimony and indomitable heart replied Fuente de Ovejuna. I submitted more than three hundred to the rack—I could extort no other answer. I brought to it children of ten years of age, and neither by torments nor menaces could I elicit other word but Fuente de Ovejuna [†]."

Pope Innocent, writing to the province of Canterbury, appeals to great social principles which all Catholics acknowledge, and of which the world now, after attempting to live without Catholicism, discover the necessity even to secure the interest which it recognizes as its own; for he says, "the elevation of celestial prudence disposes all things with a high and ineffable

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[*] Soph. Ajax, 158.

[†] Lopez de Vega.

providence, and establishes with the rules of a fixed reason the vicissitudes and changes of life, causing one time superiors to need help from inferiors, and at another inferiors to need superiors, in order that the human condition by these reciprocal and alternate services should recognize the instability of its state, and learn that men by a mutual compassion and succour should fulfil the law of Christ [*]." Superiority, odious to nature as we are now told, is, at all events, acceptable to grace; and the people, when under the influence of grace and docile to our common mother, are not slow to feel the wisdom of the profound thoughts emanating immediately from faith; for they find it even joyful to yield obedience to the voice which says "charitate fraternitatis invicem diligentes; honore invicem prævenientes [†]. During sixteen centuries, excepting at short and rare intervals, the rich and poor, the great and vulgar, lived together, as St. Bonaventura says the heavenly citizens dwell in the celestial Jerusalem, "omnes in domo cœlesti habitant in nobilissima societate: habitant in ordinatissima disparitate; in concordissima charitate. Talis est illa fraterna civitas [‡]." Thus fruitful is the action of Catholicity in reconciling the lower with the higher classes; and those are inexcusable who do not profit by the signal. It remains for us to consider that action in its effects upon the great, uniting them with the vulgar in the bonds of sweet sincere affection and of a social intercourse, unobstructed by the delusions of pride.

In the first place, by the Catholic religion the rich and powerful are taught to regard themselves under a strict obligation of endeavouring to promote the welfare of the lower classes, who share with them in the public defence. The danger is common, as Cicero says to Plancius,—"quare non debent aut propriam fortunam et præcipuam postulare, aut communem recusare [§]." The great are to salute the low as other men; and the very form of politeness is interpreted by Catholicism as a recognition of a serious duty; for, as Pedro Messie of Seville remarks, "we uncover the head in salutations to indicate that we place our life at the service of those whom we salute [‖]." Mark the Catholic nobles on this road, and see how those who have faith bow and uncover to the poor. The late venerable Lord Fingall, for instance, who never passed a peasant unsaluted, would have died for him to whom he raised his hat. But proceeding to notice results of ordinary occurrence, let us observe, that it is not to the development of Catholic principles that we can trace any enormous and injurious inequalities in the lot of men; on the contrary, the difficulties of the present generation can very

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[*] Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1246.

[†] Ad Rom. xii.

[‡] SS. omn. festo, Serm. ii.

[§] Ep. iv. 15.

[‖] Les Diverses Leçons, xv.

easily be traced to the false opinions in matters of religion which caused them to be set aside. "Formerly," says a holy writer, "all things were instituted in a beautiful order, and there was sufficiency for all; but now, by human malice, it is so confused that we can hardly hope to see a complete restoration of the ancient state. For now what belongs to the clergy is possessed by laymen:" study well those words, "The things of princes are occupied by ministers, and the goods of rustics are wrested from them by tyrants; so no one remains in his calling, and the cause of all this is sin. Many who would not pay tenths to God are not suffered now to retain a tenth for themselves, and lords take from them whatever they wish; for, as St. Augustin says, "this is the just ordination of God, that if you will not give Him a tenth, you will be reduced to a tenth, and you will give to an impious soldier what you did not wish to give to a priest. How many poor in places where he dwells who does not give tenths! for he takes away what is for them *." "The want of money," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "comes from the avarice of a few. For God created, and gave a rich world to men; He spread for them an opulent table in fields, rivers, trees, birds, beasts, and fishes; so that if men were multiplied tenfold there would still be sufficient: but the too great abundance of many has produced want in a rich world; for, while one man places fifty kinds of food on his table, it follows that fifty men have no food at all. The first part of justice, therefore, is that each one in temporal things from the common cellar of nature should refrain from grasping more than his share, or, if he should abound, that he be liberal in dispensing to others †." "In fact," says Peter of Blois, "he only has that really which he has who communicates it freely to others; while from others even that which they only seem to have will be taken away ‡." "Let the great," says Lopez de Vega, "be humble and compassionate, taking especial care that the lower classes have speedy justice without waiting for it; and let the goods of the earth, which are the heritage of the human race, be imparted so to all men, that all may be sustained §." In the thirteenth century Stephen Boileau lays down a principle which directs us to the same source; for he says, without fearing the misinterpretation of his words which the execrable sects of France, Italy, and Germany would now occasion, "all must be done for the profit of the common people—au mestier et au commun du peuple ‡." The love of the higher for the lower classes is thus required by Catholicity to be an active principle,

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* De Regimine Rusticorum, c. 74.

† Dom. iv. post Pasch. Serm.

‡ Pet. Bles. de Amicit. Christ. xxxv.

§ The Labour of Jacob.

‖ Livre des Métiers, tit. lv.

not resembling those ancient statues which used to be formed without arms and hands; and therefore religion dispensed with the systems, which under a different name vainly and often deceitfully profess to supply its place, putting the people in such a dream, that when the image of it leaves them they run mad. The word Patriote, in France, only dates from the age of Louis XIV., when the treatise on parties by Bolingbroke was translated by De Bissy. St. Simon uses it for the first time, saying of Vauban, "Patriote comme il l'était, il avait été toute sa vie touché de la misère du peuple *." In place of such fine words, baited with all the unmuzzled thoughts that tyrannous heart can think, words borrowed from the Gentiles which are not found once in the Sacred Scriptures, the Catholic civilization contained many provisions for the good of the lower classes and for rendering the rich and powerful their friends. Venice, for instance, possessed an old and admirable institution, very practical, though worthy of being painted by poets, in that patronage exercised by the great from the birth of a child which the patrician held on the baptismal font, and to which he continued ever after attached. These children were called the Amorevoli. In all countries formerly, as is still the case in Portugal and Spain, it was common for the rich to adopt the children of other persons, to educate them, and often to promote in every manner their future fortunes. In proportion as men approached to the central perfection of Catholic piety, their solicitude for the people and the lower classes becomes more intense. Antonio de Escobar remarks, indeed, that to reprove the whole people, only a man was sent, but that to console Gideon, an angel was sent; on which, he observes, that for reproving the impious as a task less glorious, the commission was entrusted to an inferior order of celestial ministers †.

The task, however, of rendering spiritual assistance to the lowest vulgar and to the people, is found to employ the noblest intelligences that Catholicism can form; for, as St. Isidore says, "Christ being God and man, no one could love the whole Christ who disdained man. The sin may be hated, but not the sinner—for bonorum discretio est non odire personas sed culpas ‡." The people for whom the modern civilization prepares that new and diabolic miracle, that the entrance to the kingdom of heaven should be more difficult to them than to the rich, may sin more grossly and generally than the upper classes; but Catholicism teaches that they must still be loved; for, as the Abbot Rupertus says, "The good zeal is to love men, and to hate the

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* Valery, Curiosités Italiennes.

† In Evang. Comment. Paneg., vol. vi. 26.

‡ D. Isidor. de Sum. Bono, lib. ii. c. 3.

iniquities of men. On the contrary, the evil zeal is to hate men and to love the iniquities of men. The one is of God—the other of the devil. That opposition between these two kinds of zeal forms the great duel which will last to the end—the zeal of God triumphing, the zeal of the devil falling to confusion and shame [*]." Accordingly, to observe the duties which are pressed upon the highest in regard to the people, we have only to remark the teaching and conduct of any person of holy life within the Church, and for this purpose Marina de Escobar, in unwearied solicitude for the people, may be taken for our example. In the affecting book which records her visions, we are told that an angel said to her, " God takes great account of the prayers of humble obscure persons, because He loves them, and they love God, and with charity and simplicity implore his mercy; and their prayers, united with the prayers and merits of Christ, of his death and passion, obtain what otherwise could never be obtained. ' Do you wish,' he asked, ' to pray for the people?' I replied, she adds, that I was not worthy to have my prayers heard; but the angel said, ' Pray for the people of God; for your prayers, united with those of Christ, cannot but avail much.' Then I prayed to God in these words :—' Omnipotens et æterne Deus, ac Domine noster infinite et immense, suppliciter obsecro tuam divinam majestatem per merita, mortem, et passionem Jesu Christi, Boni nostri, Filii tui, perque merita ipsius sanctissimæ matris, ut propitius sis et miserearis populo tuo Christiano, eumque salves [†].' The plague now making progress, I perceived," she says in another place, " that God was angry; and as I mourned for the spiritual and corporal necessities which are to be borne in this valley of tears, I implored the Divine Majesty—ut misereretur suarum pauperculariam creaturarum; but I heard for answer, ' Call them not my creatures; for their works do not merit such an appellation;' and still I cried, ' Domine, propter infinitam tuam bonitatem miserere tuo populo Christiano;' and I heard again, ' Call them not my Christian people; for their works are those of pagans rather than of Christians [‡].'" Again; in December, 1619, she writes as follows :—" Being in great affliction on account of the miseries of the world, and the offences committed against our great God; the afflictions, punishments, and infirmities of my neighbours, so tortured my mind, and, as it were, wounded my heart, that all seemed to me to be as if members of my body, actually united to mine [§]." On another occasion, being in mystic rapture, she prayed, thrice repeating the same words—" Ut cunctum popu-

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[*] Rup. Abb. De Victoriâ Verbi Dei, lib. ii. c. 26.

[†] Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, p. i. lib. v. c. 7.

[‡] Id. c. 9.

[§] Id. c. 10.

lum Christianum pretioso sanguine redemptum conservare digneris," when saints and angels were heard, each time adding,—"Te rogamus, audi nos*." Again; another time, she says, "I implored the Divine Majesty—ut misereretur sui populi†." Another time, in mystic vision surveying from an eminence the whole world, she says, "I beheld all the sins of the people in a confused manner, and I grieved bitterly, and cried, My Lord and my God, have mercy on thy Christian people‡." In another vision, after beholding all the sins of the world, she says that she beheld our Lord offering his wounds to the eternal Father as our advocate, and demanding through his death mercy for the Christian people, alleging also the merits of his holy Mother, whom at that moment, with a look of ineffable tenderness, He held by the hand; "and I thought," she adds, "that I was called upon to say what I thought of the vision, and that I replied, 'My Lord and my God, I can answer nothing; but, conforming myself to the petition of our Lord and of his blessed Mother, I say, be propitious to thy Christian people§.'"

Thus Catholicism, after requiring active benevolence in regard to their material wants, prompts supplications from the heart for the spiritual and eternal interests of the people, including indeed all classes, but certainly composed, for the greatest part, of the laborious vulgar and the poor. Further, Catholicism requires that the upper should respect the lower orders, and manifest that regard by corresponding manners. So the author of the Ménagier de Paris, when describing how we should examine ourselves for confession, proposes this case, which might well be adopted in our modern books:—"Je n'ay pas porté honneur ne révérence à mes autres frères et seurs d'Eve et d'Adam, car je n'ay nul autre prisié fors moy tant seulement‖." In our age it is the great Catholic apologist Balmes, who remarks, that "Christ threatens with eternal punishment not only him who kills or wounds a man, but him who dares to offend another by a single word¶." Protestantism, and the more general infidelity which is associated sometimes with rank and riches, generates a disposition analogous to the Indian opinions respecting the privileges of caste. Catholicism and faith, on the contrary, render every class, even in the eyes of the great, respectable, while its action, keeping in a wholesome condition the whole body of the commonwealth, tends even to secure not alone a sufficiency, but often opulence, to the inferior ranks. There was no state of life in the middle ages in which men did not attain to affluence. In 1383, Guillaume de Saint-Yon, a butcher of Paris, was so rich, that his moveable goods were estimated at 12,000 florins.

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* Id. p. ii. lib. ii. c. 3. † Id. c. 7. ‡ Id. c. 8. § Id.

‖ D. i. a. 3. ¶ Le Protest. comparé au Cath. c. 13.

His seal was of silver: he had given 2000 florins as dower to his two nieces, and expended 3000 florins to rebuild his house*. Niebuhr observes, that formerly the number of independent peasants in Italy who possessed land was immense; that during the middle ages almost every one had his hide of land, and that the number of small landed proprietors, 400 years ago, was fifty times greater than at present. Above all, faith renders the lower and middle classes worthy of the love and respect of the highest. That daughter of a silk merchant of Lyons, who founds the Institution of the Propagation de la Foy; that merchant of Havre, who fits out ships for conveying to pagan lands the Catholic missionaries, manned by fervent Christians; that dealer in shawls in Paris, whose brother becomes a martyr in China; that bookseller, whose vast and modest erudition, whose delicate conscientious sense of duty, and whose delightful manners render the Rue du Foin, in the same capital, dear to every lover of learning who has visited it—these and many others may be produced in proof. Truly the last, at whose table the stranger once sat with high prelates, as the Archbishop of Reims, and noble laymen, the patrons and themselves the real chiefs of French learning, can bring us back to ages when faith had ordained all men in their places, and found an honourable place for all. Sozomen, a priest of Pistoia, at the end of the first volume of his Chronicle, praises the bookseller of Florence, Vespasianus, saying, "I will not pass over in silence thee, Vespasian, citizen and bookseller of Florence, for, if thou hadst been a contemporary of Cicero, he would have rendered thee immortal. In this our age, thou hast a knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, and all authors worthy of notice thou hast in memory. Therefore to thee all the pontiffs of Rome and others, kings, princes, and others conversant with learning, if they desire knowledge, direct their steps. And truly from thee I have derived great assistance in consulting authors. Therefore be immortal, as far as my feeble works can confer upon thee such honour†." The spirit of paganism in regard to the relative respectability of employments, is directly practically opposed by that of Catholicity. Cicero says, that all retail tradesmen are sordid persons. "Opificesque omnes," he adds, "in sordida arte versantur. Nec enim quidquam ingenuum potest habere officina—

'Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores.'"

If commerce be on a small scale, he says it is sordid; if it be extensive, he can only say, "Non est admodum vituperanda‡."

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* Le Ménagier de Paris, D. ii. a. 4, note.

† Mab. Iter Italicum, 172.

‡ De Off. lib. i. 42.

Faith, which sees in the supreme Lord a carpenter and an apprentice, has rendered all such sentiments as these an anachronism in the society which it sways. Before ascetic Catholicity was received, a Christian noble might know in general that the poor man, in a religious point of view, was his brother; but when faith has pierced his heart he will respect him as his soul. The middle too, as well as the lowest classes, are then seen by him in a new light. Accordingly, the proverbial wisdom of the people, as expressed in the lines—

> "Courtois de bouche, main au bonnet,
> Peu couste et bon est,"—

found, as we have just seen, willing disciples in the great, who evinced it in their conduct towards all, whether slightly or far beneath them. The monastery of St. Æmilian in Spain contained a document which indicates the respect with which the ignoble were treated by the most elevated; for it had these words: "Here begins the charter of devotion which I, Count Ferdinand Gundisalvez, holding the principality of all Castille—unanimiter cum principibus primariis omnis meæ dominationis, nobilibus et ignobilibus;" and further on even these, "Visum fuit nobis et universitati nostrorum militum et rusticorum—that this monastery should be venerated in an especial manner*." In Spain indeed, where, we are told, "the dignity of the man seems to rise in proportion as his rank descends," the peasants in many provinces are esteemed politically noble. "In our Gallicia," says Sanchos, "the blood is so generous, that the only thing which distinguishes the poor man from the rich is that the former is obliged to serve†." What but Catholicism could have so reversed all notions of the pagan world? But, without dwelling on this peculiar attribute, let us observe in further detail how Catholicism has been able to secure respect from the highest for the lowest classes. Its action, which only perpetuates the earliest manners painted in the Bible, can be discerned in the first ages of the world. We have a picture composed of them in that account of "the powerful man and very rich, whose name was Booz, when he came into the field in which Ruth was gleaning, and said to the reapers, The Lord be with you; who replied to him, The Lord bless thee ‡;" and of their transmission to Christians St. Jerome supplies an instance, speaking of St. Pammachus, where he says, "It was not a little thing to see a man illustrious, a man eloquent, a man rich, shunning in public places the company of the great and the rich,

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* Yepes, Chron. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. i. 510.

† Lopez de Vega, Best Alcade is the King.

‡ Ruth ii.

mixing with the people, approaching the poor, joining himself with rustics, and, from being a prince, making himself a companion of the lowest of the populace*." The books of the middle ages could furnish innumerable examples of the respectful regard shown by highest personages to the humbler classes. Thus we read of the abbot St. Nicet, that on being elected Archbishop of Treves, while on his journey to the King Thierry, being escorted by some of the chief nobles of the court, having arrived about sunset near a town where they pitched tents for the night, the horses being turned loose to graze, some of them entered the corn of the poor people. Nicet then said, "Turn out your horses from the corn of this peasant, or I will separate you from my communion." "What?" replied they; "you are not yet consecrated, and you threaten excommunication!" but he replied, "Though the king has drawn me from my monastery, and wished to impose this charge upon me, I will always endeavour that the will of God, rather than that of the king, should be accomplished when the latter is unjust;" and so saying, he ran himself to drive out the horses, which act filled the observers with admiration; for it proved, as Cardinal Baronius remarks, that he was a man to defend the poor from all oppression†. But as we are here more immediately observing the respect which was extended to the persons of the low, we may recall that vision ascribed to St. Antoninus, which we noticed on a former road, when walking one day on the road he beheld angels seated over a poor man's cottage; for we may feel assured that Bossuet, had he lived in the thirteenth century, could have added nothing to this proof of the dignity of the poor in the Church, and of the obligation of the higher classes to treat them, not alone with kindness but with honour, as men entitled to it while respecting themselves as much as nobles ought to regard their own. Chateaubriand observes, "that one never can remark in Spain any of those servile airs or turns of expression, which announce abjection of thoughts or degradation of mind. The language of the great seigneur and of the peasant is the same, the greeting the same, the compliments, the customs, the manners are the same." Another traveller of the same nation, but of a very opposite character, gives a similar testimony. "Spain," he says, "is the true land of equality, if not in words, at least in deeds. The last beggar lights his papelito at puro of the greatest lord, who allows him to do so without the least affectation of condescension. The marquis steps smiling between the legs of the poor persons sleeping across his gate. Strangers, and above all the English, have great difficulty to put up with this familiarity; servants are treated with a sweetness, very dif-

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* S. Hieron. Ep.

† Ad ann. 529.

ferent from our affected politeness, which seems each moment to remind them of the inferiority of their condition. We were at a party at the country house of a great señora; in the evening it was proposed to dance, but there were more women than cavaliers. The señora made her gardener and another servant come up, who danced all the evening without the least embarrassment or false shame, but as if they were really part of the company; and the highest titled and most beautiful ladies, with the best possible grace, accepted their invitations. Our democrats," he adds, "are still far from that practical equality, and our sternest republicans would be revolted at the idea of thus figuring in a quadrille before a peasant or a lacquais." "I will say for the Spaniards," says an English traveller, not so far advanced as the last upon the slope, "that in their social intercourse no people exhibit a juster feeling of what is due to the dignity of human nature, or better understand the behaviour which it behoves a man to adopt towards his fellow-beings. The wealthy are not idolized. In Spain the duke or marquis can scarcely entertain a very over-weening opinion of his own consequence, as he finds no one to fawn upon or flatter him."

The whole Spanish literature is stamped with this character. The first romance of Montesinos beginning—

"Muchas veces oi decir
Y á los antiguos contar,"

presents an instance. "Often have I heard it said and related by our ancients," says its author, "that one ought never to magnify any man for his riches, nor to esteem him less for his poverty, however great it may be." We find another in the Best Alcade is the King, by Lopez de Vega. Don Enriquez says to Alphonso VII., "I have just seen before the palace-gate a Galician peasant who seems afflicted." "Who," exclaims the king, "dares to shut my gates to a poor peasant? Go, Enriquez de Lara, and lead him here." Then the Count Don Pedro exclaims, "Admirable, heroic virtue! generous pity! noble clemency! observance of the divine laws! Alphonso is the model of kings." Ferdinand II., the Catholic king of Arragon, used to take delight in the mirth of the husbandmen and of the rustics, often as it were feeding on their sayings; and not only those, but all men were objects of his benevolence, so that he seemed not so much our king, adds the historian, as our common father. He was of admirable humanity and gentleness, while exhibiting a perfect example of prudence and fortitude*. But this respect for the low, emanating from the Catholic religion, was not a flower ex-

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* Hieron. Blanca Aragonens. Rer. Comment. 276.

clusively of Spanish growth: it was indigenous in every Catholic soil. Let us hear how a holy German writer addresses the peasants, for whose use he composed his book on the rustic dignity, and on the duties, virtues, and praise of Christian peasants. St. Jerome having applied to the eremitical solitude the words Sancta rusticitas, this author writes in praise of the common rustic dignity, and calls the peasants whom he addresses—charissimos fratres et sorores ac alios venerabiles rusticos universos. "Respected peasants," he says, "beloved brothers and sisters, you have already acquired from paternal education many things which holy hermits had to learn with great pain. Labours, coarse fare and raiment are familiar to you. Consider how near you are to salvation, if you only sanctify these acquisitions by your intention. Lo! what seems most severe in spiritual discipline is like nothing to you. It is quite natural to you to watch and rise early, to labour, to heed not delicacies, to bear cold and heat. Rustics therefore must not be falsely humble, forgetting their own dignity, and deeming themselves unknown to God, since all their daily works may have an immense merit if performed with simplicity and piety. Let them remember, above all, the conformity which exists between their condition and that of our Lord while He was on earth. By hereditary right the common people have a salutary similitude with the Son of God. They resemble the patriarchs. As the sons of Jacob they can say,—Viri pastores sumus ab infantia nostra usque in præsens, et nos et patres nostri. Moses spent forty years in their school of humility, tending the flocks of Jethro. Gideon was occupied in rustic labour when he beheld the angel; and David had watched like these poor boys his father's sheep. Moreover, without the labour of rustics co-operating with Providence, human life could not be sustained*." Friar Weston speaks of the common people generally in the same terms, as may be observed in his admirable work on the rule of the minors. Thus did Catholicism inspire those who devoted even their pens to the instruction and consolation of the lowest ranks, without any of the reserve implied in the lines of one, whom jealousy more than love seems to have prompted, when he said—

"Vos quoque, si fas est, confusa pudore repulsæ,
Sumite, plebeiæ, carmina nostra, manus †;"

And indeed solid reasons had the noblest authors for addressing themselves to the people, since the occasions are so many when

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* De Regimine Rusticorum, sive de Agricolarum Christianorum officio, virtutibus, moribus, et laudibus.

† Trist. lib. iii.

the great prove to be prevaricators, and the lowĕr orders true. Sir John Maundeville remarks an instance, when he blames the lords for not succouring the Holy Land, adding, "And the comoun people that wolde putte here bodyes and here catelle for to conquere our heritage, the may net don it withouten the lordes." Oh, that clear honour were purchased by the merit of the wearer! How many then should cover that stand bare? How much low peasantry would then be gleaned from the true seed of honour? Goldsmith was not infected with any modern error when he ascribed to the peasantry of our country what Catholicity, when unshackled, confers on that of all nations, making them in obedience to reason, in devotion to what they deem right, in natural greatness of character, and in self-respect "lords of human kind." "The French peasant before the days of revolution, at whose rude tanned visage La Bruyère only looked while painting him to represent misery, was generally," says a recent author, "raised to the greatest moral elevation to which man can attain. He believed in God; he believed in the justice and mercy of God, and he accepted without murmur the humble rank in which he found himself. Society did not desert him; and he did not pursue it with his hate. He was ignorant neither of his duties in this life, nor of the lot prepared for him in a future; and his days passed devoted to labour, in the fear and in the love of God. If La Bruyère had observed him on Sundays in the Church, intelligent hearer of the Catholic instruction, if he had observed him strengthening himself in labour, consoling himself in affliction by prayer, if he had seen him on his death-bed, already illumined with the light of eternity, the fine writer would have held a different language, and he would have felt that the peasant was not degraded, though he was not called upon, as he is now, to give his opinion upon the affairs of the state." But let us observe what love for the lower ranks flows from the Catholic source. All history is sufficiently full of that hatred and contempt for them which has marked others besides the conqueror of Corioli. It will be delightful to discover a fountain in this wilderness, ever dispensing in sweet and abundant streams that gentleness which once made one man, Menenius Agrippa, so dear to the Roman people. To draw from this fountain we have, however, to mount high, and leave all human, natural, and earthly thoughts below, so as to be able, as Savonarola says, truly and piously to utter the first words of the Pater Noster, which we cannot do if we do not feel that we are all brothers, and concordant and unanimous sons of such a Father*. The fountain exists therefore, though all do not profit by it; but it is sufficient for our purpose to show, that all who

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* Savon. Orationis Dom. Explanat.

choose may find there the refreshment which is sought, at least professedly, by those who take this present road.

The world appeared once in a vision to Marina de Escobar, as a vast hospital full of sick persons, while the number of the sound were very few, dwelling apart. "These were," she says, "men affable, humble, goodnatured, of great charity, loving each other mutually in the Lord, having all one heart and one will, faithful, true, and living according to reason, not differing in raiment, all wishing to be equal, sitting at the same table, and only uttering hymns and praises of God *." Every Catholic town or village supplies this spectacle; and how charming is the concord, sociability, and affection, when all, as after the midnight mass of Christmas, are seen, like members of one family, returning to the house, visibly under the sweet impression of the same great mystic thoughts which direct to the eternal home! Methinks men might be drawn to the Catholic Church on any day, not only by the divine motives of faith, but even by the human attraction of seeing gentle and pacific faces, and of wishing to be with the good. What sanctity and innocence, what politeness and grace, in the children of the poor in France, who receive their education from those whom they call the dear Brothers! Wherever these brothers have had a school, you are struck with the Christian character of the rising generation, both in the church and in the street, however few may be the good among the many. John Germain, Bishop of Nevers, chancellor of the order of the Toison d'Or, owed his education to the Duchess of Burgundy, who was so struck with the grace with which he offered her the holy water when a little boy, that she sent him to college. In order to perpetuate the memory of his origin, he caused himself to be painted on the window of the church of St. Maïeul, at Cluny, presenting on his knees a red hat to his mother, who is engaged in tending swine †.

In general we may set it down as an undoubted axiom, that all institutions, customs, and manners, which militate against the loving and familiar intercourse of high and low, have not their origin, or the seeds of their abuse, in Catholicity. In France, there were no colleges of nobles, like those which elsewhere have nourished demagogue princes; and the ancient universities every where were popular in the form and constitution; for, as Alfonso Antonio de Saresa says,—"Pusillum et magnum Deus ipse fecit ‡." "Be mild and gentle to all," says St. Ephrem, addressing the learned sages of the cloister; "and if even a boy should call you to assist him, rise and follow him §." If such are masters, what will be the disciples? These are re-

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* P. i. lib. v. c. 7.

† Lorain, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Cluny.

‡ Ars semper gaudendi.

§ Tractatus iv.

minded that even nature prompts them to be affable to the low; for, says St. Basil, "this is the property of children and youths, to act as equals with those to whom they are joined, not in nobility, but in age, until, in process of time, and by the wickedness of counsels, they are infected with the poison of pride *." The old woman, whose letter, spoken of by Calderon, had this superscription—"To my son John, dressed in brown, at Madrid †," however fondly she counted on her epistle reaching him, might at least have had no fears lest he should be without friends on account of the lowness of his birth or the scantiness of his wardrobe; for Catholicity secures affection and familiarity for all, forming men who can repeat the poet's lines—

"Though low thy lot, since in a cottage born,
Though titles did not thy poor name adorn,
To me far dearer was thy artless love
Than all the joys wealth, fame, and friends could prove."

St. Isidore of Seville, indeed, preferred to receive plebeians as members of his holy community, saying—"Ad cujus sanctæ militiæ propositum veniunt non solum liberi, sed etiam plerumque ex conditione servili, vel propter hoc potius liberandi. Veniunt quoque ex vita rustica, et ex opificum exercitatione et ex plebeio labore, tanto utique felicius, quanto fortius educati; qui si non admittatur, grave delictum est ‡." But all whom Catholicity inspires have the same countenance for the low as for the great; the high-born lady of the feudal towers claiming no dispensation, knowing that, as old writers say, "No sister flower would be forgiven if it disdained its brother:" therefore smiles were for the poor artisan, the yeomen's sons, the labourer, or the lowly wight, whatever might be his condition—albeit, like some younger son to younger brother,

"In humble, simplest habit clad,
No wealth or power had he."

The son of the richest man, trained Catholically thus, has something kind for every one within the sphere of his rounds,—"a quip for this person, and a crank for that; nods and becks and wreathed smiles for those like himself who are in the May-day of youth; a grave word in season, and wise counsel for those who need it, while with his kind words kind actions always keep pace." The pupil learns these manners from his master, the servant from his lord. Pedro Nicolas Factor, the painter-saint of Spain, used frequently, even in the street, to kiss the feet of the passers-by.

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* Regula S. Basilii, c. clxi.

† Love after Death.

‡ Lib. de Off. Ecc. c. xv. 5.

O how great a good is it thus for high and low to be united, when all in mutual well-beseeming ranks march one way, and are no more opposed against acquaintance, kindred, and allies! when the vulgar respect the great, and the great have learned to dive into the hearts of the common people with humble and familiar courtesy! Protestantism, nurtured in palaces, and seasoned to the palate of the rich and powerful, had from the beginning other thoughts; but, as even the Roman orator demands, Would you rather be feared than loved?—"Si ita putas, totam ignoras viam gloriæ. Carum esse civem, bene de republica mereri, laudari, coli, diligi, gloriosum est. Metui vero, et in odio esse, invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum *." But it is the inspired language of St. Bonaventura, wishing a chariot of fire, representing seraphic Charity, for all ranks of men, that will best express what is desired here—"O qui hodie in paradisum cœlestem deberent ire," he exclaims, "paratum jam igneum currum deberent habere. Currus igneus est ignea charitatis,—whose four wheels are, the love of God, the love of yourself, the love of your friend, the love of your enemy †." Truly insane must be the delusion when men, for the sake of such pageantry as dazzles in the common street, abandon their title to this chariot, in which the noble seated with the tradesman, the monarch with the peasant, can ascend so high, even while clothed with the poor flesh, as to inhale from afar, as it were sailing near the Fortunate Islands, the enchanting perfumes that are wafted to them from the fragrancy of heaven. But now, though Catholicity thus secures for the common people service, prayer, respect, and love, perhaps you are not yet content. Well, it may be so rightly; for there is an expression of the good you desire, that seems wanting to complete the gift; I understand that development to be conformity,—the similitude required to constitute that real brotherhood which nature seeks and grace alone confers. Then mark how this last aim will guide you to the same faith from which all the rest has emanated,—"Fraternitatem diligite," says the Apostle who first after Christ ruled the universal Church. So say all now, as in times past; but with what different results! The too courtly Lord of Noyon had repeated these words with the same tongue that was charged with having addressed his faithful people as the canaille Chrétien. "It is already too much," says human grandeur, "to have the same religion as the people, and the same God. How is it possible that we should call ourselves Peter, John, James, like the tradesman or the labourer? Let us avoid having any thing in common with the multitude ‡." This is an exaggerated picture—be it so; but a

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* Phil. i. † De Mortuis, Serm. i. ‡ La Bruyère.

cold and formal acknowledgment of the spiritual bond which unites all Christians, or even a consciousness of wishing well, generally and politically, to the lower classes, will not suffice to yield the pleasure that is sought by those who take this road with us: they desire familiarity, like Henry V., without his shame, homely familiarity; and so far are they from trembling at the thought of having intercourse with persons of the humbler ranks, of laughing with the acute juvenal, voluble and free of grace, and standing the push of beardless companions to the common street, that they could not long endure the most magnificent domains if they should be debarred in them from hearing that cheerful music produced by the voices of the vulgar youth at its play, and from meeting common people enjoying with them these delightful groves, and be themselves kept scarce, like a comet, to be wondered at with an extraordinary gaze; for it is, after all, a sentiment deeply rooted in our nature, extended to comprise the lower orders, that Cicero expresses when he says, "Quod si contigerit ea vita sapienti, ut in omnium rerum affluentibus copiis, omnia quæ cognitione digna sunt, summo otio secum ipse consideret et contempletur: tamen, si solitudo tanta sit, ut hominem videre non possit, excedat e vita *."

It is not, therefore, merely as useful things created to buy and sell with groats, to carry baskets, show bare heads, and duly minister to household wants, that Catholicism of mind supposes the presence of the humble classes ought to be permitted; it is as being themselves among the beauteous, precious, and inestimable ornaments of life. "But tell me true," says Timon, ascribing the thoughts of men ignorant of this attraction to Flavius; "for," he continues, "I must ever doubt, though ne'er so sure. Is not this kindness subtle, covetous, if not a usuring kindness, and as rich men deal gifts, expecting in return twenty for one?" Doubt and suspicion may prompt the same question here; but no; persons drawn to Catholicity by this sentiment of which I speak, do not show affability to vulgar men and lads in order to draw profit from them, according to the old French proverb, "Asne convié à nopces eau ou boys y doibt porter;" they seem what they are; they have a fellow-feeling for the common people, and they wish to cultivate it, not alone from the very highest thoughts, but partly also for the simple reason assigned by Plato, *τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ ἰσότητα τιμῶντες*,—because they honour similarity and equality and the things established by nature †; because collision and sympathy with them are indispensable for their mental enjoyment; therefore they wish to extend to the lowest classes the state of things described by

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* De Off. i. 43.

† De Legibus, lib. v.

Cicero, which did not exist in their regard, where he says, "Multa sunt civibus inter se communia; forum, fana, porticus, viæ, leges, jura, judicia, suffragia, consuetudines præterea et familiaritates, multisque cum multis res rationesque contractæ[*]." While others say to the vulgar who can only look at them as men could look on Bollingbroke, Move on, presume not to enter,—Catholicity prompts the smile, and invitation, "Here please thee stay awhile." St. Bruno interprets the word Face in the Psalms as signifying Benignity, "eo quod in facie sæpe benignitas denotatur[†];" and down to the urchins who mount upon a wall to look at pleasant groves, the common people would have admitted the justice of his comment from observing the looks of the great fixed upon them, if Catholicism had formed the character of their superiors; for that religion acts, as he remarks, after the manner of the Greeks, instead of the ablative, which they want, placing a genitive[‡]. Antiquity would have acknowledged the excellence of such impressions, if we can judge from the fact that from the foundation of Rome till the time of Africanus there was no distinct place for the senate at the public games, but senators and people sat promiscuously together[§]. Catholicism, it is true, makes all due concessions to the exigencies of state and social order; but then, indisputably, what cannot be predicated of its antagonist, it leaves individuals free as the winds of heaven to follow the bent which is, after all, popular in proportion as it is holy, while it checks the criticism that would stigmatize as unbecoming that bent, if popular, and trace it to inordinate and low desires of rude society, as when Cicero said that Tiberius Gracchus, because he loved the lowly, had degenerated from the paternal gravity[||]. The great who are Catholic in mind and manners love to sit with the humble, showing like Agesilaus, without his boasting, *ὅτι οὐχ οἱ τόποι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐντίμους, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνδρες τοὺς τόπους ἐπιδεικνύουσι*[¶]. They love to talk familiarly with them, saying with Beaumont and Fletcher,—

"Nay, in troth, I talk but coarsely,
But I hold it comfortable for the understanding."

A vain sophist, like Abailard, before his conversion might disdain the popular language. "Lingua mihi ignota et turpis," said the professor of the university of Paris, alluding to the idiom of Brittany spoken around the monastery which at one time received him[**]. But the opponent of the pure old

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[*] De Off. i. 17.

[†] S. Brun. exposit. in Ps. xxx.

[‡] Id. in Ps. xxxiv.

[§] Val. Max. iv.

[||] De Provinciis Consul.

[¶] Plut.

[**] Epist. i.

Catholic wisdom was manifested by such scorn. Not like him were his wiser and disdained contemporaries. "There was a charcoal burner in the forest," says an old writer, "who brought a horse to the Count of Neustria. This charcoal man was poor to the world, but rich in God, religious and fearing God—ob quod familiaris erat comiti huic *." "There is not a grandee in Spain," says the great prelate Antonio de Guevara, "who has not written to me. With some potent lords I have acquaintance; with others, alliance; with others, friendship; but with others, I fly all communication and separate myself from their complexion; for, in truth, I find that it is more painful to converse with some seigneurs than with a simple peasant."

Catholicity of mind leads to strange and affecting dialogues between persons of very different ranks and characters, often expressly, indeed, through a motive of religion. "I felt such hunger for doing good to souls," says Marina de Escobar, "that often when I had no other means of satisfying it, I used to accost those whom I met in the streets or roads, and take occasion by some apparently chance conversation to exhort them to love God, and to tell them that the best way of loving God was to approach Him by prayer; and my words, by the grace of God, used to make so visible an impression on them, whether persons of religious habit or merely seculars, that I used to observe them moved and kindled with the divine love, and with a great desire that I should continue to speak to them of the love of God and of his divine goodness; and I used to accost even the poor boys I met, and speak to them thus; and after a few such words, I used to feel ineffably consoled †." Thus was she affable to the lowest member of the mystic family, lest he should be bruised by Satan. But the familiar intercourse of high and low, when swayed by faith, occurs quite as often without any consciousness of the religious motive; for the habits of Catholicity imperceptibly convert religion into nature. Thus the human heart is satisfied; and whatever may be urged by timid politicians of the Protestant school, or by rough practical men who would exclude all but self-worship, as a morbid sensibility, how justly does it demand all this without abating one jot of it? For who must not wish to be familiar with those who are often, if not the most devoted and the most brave, at least equal to any class in generosity? Baptist Fulgosa relates, that a labourer of Naples travelling with his wife along the seashore, she remaining behind, and being taken by Moors, the young man swam to their boat, and begged to be made a captive slave along with her; and that being carried to Tunis, the king,

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* Joan. Mag. Mag. Spec. 9.

† Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, P. i. lib. i. cap. 24.

through compassion, gave them both their liberty *. We, at least, who have already mixed with the people on the road of popular devotion, will assent to these old Romans, who, as Cicero says, "hominum ignobilium virtutem persæpe nobilitatis inertiæ prætulerunt †." But see them at their recreation, what gracious pictures of the innocent joy of the peasant youth of Spain are found taken from life in the drama of The Mill, by Lopez de Vega! The insolence of the Carthaginian senators who would not bathe in the same place with the common people, but separate from them ‡, and the policy of Deioces, who thought the people would lose all respect for him if he were to be seen so much as to laugh or to spit §, are excluded by such desires and the spirit which contents them. On the news of the victory of Lepanto reaching Venice, we read that the most illustrious personages shook hands with the lowest of the people ||. The transition to modern manners then visible could alone have made such acts remarkable. See the multitudes that in the spirit of Catholic ages went to meet the relics of St. Martin returning to Tours, composed of the people and the barons, the children and the old men, all alike carrying tapers and singing divine hymns together ¶. See, as represented from living manners in the chant entitled "Merlin-Barde," great and small coming together to the marriage,—to the marriage all the inhabitants of the canton, great counts and humble labourers, the rich and the poor coming invited, while for the latter eight hundred new suits of clothes are prepared for distribution. When one speaker in the Cortegiano would prevent gentlemen from assisting at games with the humbler ranks, the Lord Gasper Pallavicino says, "In our country of Lombardy you would not be heard; for you shall see there young gentlemen, upon the holidays, come dance all the day long, in the sun, with them of the country, and pass the time with them in casting the bar, in wrestling, running, and leaping; and I believe it is not ill done: for no comparison is there made of nobleness of birth, but of force and slight; in which things many times the men of the country are not a whit inferior to gentlemen: and it seemeth this familiar conversation containeth in it a certain lovely freeness." If you will not trace all this to Catholicism, say from what other source can it proceed? for where its living water flows not, nature is unknown or deprecated. But hear St. Ephrem, who drinks from that sole fountain,—"I hate vain glory, laziness, and useless forms. Let us consider the best

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* Pierre Messie de Seville, Les Diverses Leçons, 214.

† Pro Corn. Balbo.

‡ Val. Max. ix.

§ Herod.

|| De Falloux, Hist. de S. Pie V. ii. 296.

¶ Lorain, Hist. de Cluny, 298.

examples. Let us imitate the active and humble solicitude of Rebecca; for when the strange servant said to her, 'Give me water to drink from your pitcher,' she replied, 'Drink, my lord;' and resting her pitcher on her arm, she gave him to drink: and when he had drank, she said, 'and for your camels too I will draw water'—thus fulfilling the evangelic voice ages before it was heard: 'If any one compel you to go with him one mile, go with him twain.' So she doubled her grace, saying, 'Drink, my lord; and I will draw water for your camels, that they all may drink;' and then she ran to the well and drew the water, and watered them; and here we should contemplate how all this was done readily, cheerfully, graciously, without pride, without arrogance, without delay. She calls a stranger My lord; and like a handmaiden ministers to the traveller *."

Manners in accordance with such views are produced by Catholicism in every age. A nephew of St. Pius V. being about to be married to the daughter of his secretary, the pope, in order to indicate with what mind the young woman ought to enter his family, sent her a mule and two panniers, to serve as her equipage from Fano to Rome. Such simplicity was deemed becoming in one so highly allied †. Michael Angelo, who though rich lived as if he had been a poor man, might be cited to witness that the thoughts of genius are not at variance in this respect with the tendency of faith. If you wish living examples, see the greatest of modern architects in company with the masons, and the Père Martin in the blouse of a common workman. And how could it be otherwise? Enter fully into the views of a society that may surround many without their knowing it, where, according to the modern phrase, Catholicism is a reality, that is, where everything is seen in its true colours and in its proper place, and, unless singularly perverse, you will not court singularity and separation from the mass of the faithful people: you will prefer, even for intellectual armour, their childlike, joyous simplicity, which tends to induce common rather than extraordinary ways coupled with the habit of that thinking which as a rash poet says "is but an idle waste of thought." Nor do I know what should even prevent you from daring to whistle at times as loudly as the vulgar juveniles who make our lanes so merry, since such sounds, instead of necessarily indicating, as this poet says, a want, may argue but a wise and humble, and happy moderation of thought, conscious of its own privilege. If every one in a town, says John Della Casa in his Galateo, should wear their hair short, be sure to imitate them. "What skills it to proclaim oneself rich in a town where no one is esteemed for having more than others?" Catholicism produces the real, useful, and

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* De Patientia, &c.

† Hist. de P. V. i. 112.

natural equality, preserving, as in the community of bees, different functions, order and rule, and yet conformity of manners,—

"Omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus *."

And here, again, remark how an adorable trait of Catholicity falls in with these appreciations of what belongs to human happiness in the great; for these days of abstinence, so dreaded by the sickly race of customers to every mountebank doctor, contribute to it. It is not every day in the week that the persons with whom you feel such sympathy can eat meat. Well, religion, if you will really consult it, requires that you should place yourself in their condition, and suffer the mortification of passing at least two consecutive days without any better food than theirs, and with which, nevertheless, they are so perfectly contented that a mere sense of shame ought to prevent you from asking for a dispensation. Catholicism satisfies even the natural propensity, which on a former road we remarked in the young, and which, to a certain extent, exists perhaps in all, to imitate the multitude, even in attire which with them is coarse, but worn in a manly way, and having in it a smack of humanity, and beauty too. Social vanities may tend to oppose its action, as when at Padua it used to be regarded as an affront to the citizens, if a Venetian gentleman should walk through their city in a common dress, as if he thought himself in the country †. But the singularity of a few, for which Catholicism has no predilection, will never be so natural an object of imitation to generous minds, as an assimilation to the many, whom it has the mission to beatify. Dress has its influence on the mind, as many have acknowledged, whose style of writing even bears witness to their pagan disdain for those who, even in happiest lands, while summer lasts, will walk and play with naked feet. "With the low vulgarites," says the Anglican Doctor, "the children of Tahag, Rahag, and Bohobtay-il, I have no concern, though with the high and middle vulgarites I have much." Were he Catholic, his habits as well as his language would be different. "What think you," asks an ancient author, addressing the Franciscan Conventuals, and actually referring them for an example to the lowest of all the common poor, "what think you of those who are without shoes? who have no more doublets than backs, no more shoes than feet; nay, sometimes, more feet than shoes?"

"Why should it seem a sight so very shocking,
If the boy's feet shows neither shoe nor stocking?"

On every account it is an excellent thing to have experience of

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* Georg. iv. 184.

† John della Casa—Galateo.

the feelings of our common nature at times stript to what is barely necessary, so as to escape from the trammels and associations of disdain. A conspirator was moved to renounce his project of assassinating Charles II. by seeing him take off his clothes to bathe in the Thames. The man was softened by the thought that his intended victim was, after all, like one of the people, "sicut unus de populo," who, as old Homer says, "had much sweat to wash off in the waves, and a dear heart to be refreshed." In supplications and processions Catholic kings used to walk barefoot with their people, as Rigardus relates of Philippe-Augustus. He says the king walked barefoot, "sicut unus de populo." Similarly, in 1239, St. Lewis walked barefoot in a solemn procession. And who can omit to acknowledge, among the benefits of Catholicism, the approval of habits which have such a tendency to humble the proud, and to exalt the humble, and yet to reconcile all to each other in the bonds and unity of a common nature. What but barbarism is indicated by that decree of Edgathach, the twenty-seventh king of Ireland, which commanded that the rank and condition of every one should be manifested by the colours of his clothes, so that the plebeians should wear only one colour, the nobles three, the chiefs of towns four, the princes five, the learned doctors six, and the kings and queen seven colours *. Many, no doubt, would be delighted by the return of such savage distinctions; requiring for their own bodies not seven, but seventy hues; but not so those who love the true Catholic civilization. The Church reads of St. Lewis, "vestitu vulgari utebatur †." Her spirit, therefore, attracts us when we say, like the two forest youths,—

> "Our minds be noble, and our garments poor;
> We will unto your fathers, even in these
> Honest, mean habiliments.
> What, is the jay more precious than the lark,
> Because his feathers are more beautiful?
> Neither are we, then, when in our dusty
> Brown we walk'd on foot, and thought it
> Frolick what was counted shame."

Certainly, as we remarked on the road of youth, it is no fanciful conceit to suppose that such sentiments often exist in those who are born to hereditary distinctions, and that Catholicity supplies means in every form to gratify them. Bucchius, writing even so late as the sixteenth century, observes that, "there is hardly a noble house in Christendom which does not count among its members a Minor friar ‡." What is that, but observing that in

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* Roderic O'Flaherty, Ogygia, seu Rer. Hib. Chronol. P. iii. c. 23.

† 25 August.

‡ Liber Aureus Conformit. Vit. B. Francisci ad Vitam J. C. p. 103.

every noble family there was sure to be some who wished to live with the poor, and to resemble the poor in dress, food, lodging, employment, manner, and conversation?

But we need not pursue this road further, which less, perhaps, than ever, in our age is frequented. The people are feared and flattered, but despised and shunned: ergo, hæc deserta via et inculta atque interclusa jam frondibus et virgultis relinquatur*. If some through want of introductions to the higher classes, or other causes, profess to confine their regards to the lower in a foreign country, they seldom can conceal the little sympathy that binds them to the same description of persons in their own. "In London," says one English Protestant traveller of this kind, "the high aristocracy, the lords and ladies, the sons and daughters of nobility, constitute the most remarkable and the most interesting part of the population." Do you mark that? The Bible alone, then, does not seem to exalt the remainder in the estimation of those who profess to have no other guide but it. Nor was it otherwise when the modern delusions first had champions in the powerful. Who knows not that Protestantism from its cradle despised the low? Elizabeth in England, who would direct the lord who rode before her, Turkish-like, to smite the people with his staff and clear the way for her proud palfrey,—Christiern in Sweden, who had for maxim that the peasant, born not for war but for agriculture, wanted but one hand and one leg, as he could follow the plough after he had so maimed him†,—Luther himself, who deemed the halter the best correction for the German peasants, are instances out of a thousand to render all scepticism on this head unreasonable; and, in fact, at the present day, the original impulse can be traced in the most humane who follow the haughty banner. While Catholicism is teaching that even the superiority of genius and learning would be nothing without communion with the lower of intellect, saying, like Cicero, "magnitudo animi, remota communitate conjunctioneque humana, feritas sit quædam et immanitas. Ita fit, ut vincat cognitionis studium consociatio hominum atque communitas‡,"—Protestantism is practically and even avowedly proclaiming that an impassable gulf separates the learned from the mass of the population. To hear its accredited guides, one might suppose that all the ills of life flow from having to do with the lower classes of society. If religion in France is, as they opine, at a low ebb, the reason is, if you believe them, that "it is amongst peasants and mechanics, in the part of the population entirely destitute of fortune, and of even the rudi-

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* Cicero pro M. Cœlio.

† August Theiner, La Suède et le Saint-siège, i. 156

‡ De Offic. i. 44.

ments of education, that the Church is obliged to seek her ministers, whose minds, consequently, after all their ecclesiastical training, must remain," say they, "in respect of every thing without that sphere, narrow, vulgar, and mean *." The Anglican writers pretend to trace the contaminating influence of the people in every department of Catholic study or institution. They cannot even censure works of Spanish art without ascribing, what they call its defects, to the low classes from whom the monks, who, they say, corrupted it, were, according to them, sprung; and who, they add, knowing the chords to which these respond, "provided a nonsense drugged up to the wants and appetites of their gaping, gulping flocks †." In fact, if the party denominated liberal under this influence flatter and leave the lower classes to starve, that to which these choice writers of the least dissolved Protestantism belong, while providing better for the material wants of the people, lose no possible occasion, though at the risk of becoming absolutely ludicrous, to evince how profoundly it despises the low. It speaks of the people, as if it were a God to punish, not composed of men of their infirmity. If others, again, through pride can be condescending to the lowest, and ready even to commend them, like the pagan, astonished to hear from a slave, *ἐλεύθερον λόγον*, saying,—

> ——— *κἀξ ἀγεννήτων ἄρα*
> *μῦθοι καλῶς πίπτουσιν* ‡,

for the very lowest can never tread upon their heel,—

> "Plerumque gratæ divitibus vices §;"

what becomes of affability, and kindness, and union between them and the middle classes? Ah, there do we play the touch, to try if they be current gold, indeed! There we prove the real character of all the familiarity of which they make vaunt at times. Apemantus might well say to many now, "The middle of humanity thou never knewest, but the extremity of both ends." It is only Catholicism which completes the chain; and, therefore, the very last steps upon this way direct us to the Church, by showing, in the absence of its influence, the union of hearts broken, or only externally cemented through the instinct of self-interest in the one, and of fears as selfish in the other. Let us on, without apology, and pursue through other avenues the spectacle of truth.

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* Q. R. No. clxv.

† Id. clxv.

‡ Trach. 61.

§ Hor. Car. iii. 23.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROAD OF MARTHA, OR ACTIVE LIFE.

VISIBLY approaching now at last to the steep craggy region which we long ago discerned from afar, but of which we nearly lost sight amidst the defiles that our roads have been lately traversing, we reach the branching off of the ways which answer to what St. Bonaventura designates as the journey of the spreading revelations of eternal things, and we seem so loudly called, that I have thought many voices came to us from some amid these thickets close concealed. The place to which our road turns, skirting precipices, will soon be rough as Alp; but though promising much toil, a strong impulsion moves us to press forwards, being arrived at that intersection of roads where maturer age begins to engage in the multiplied affairs of active life, and brooks no tarrying; for, as the poet says,—

> "Man hath his daily work of body or mind
> Appointed, which declares his dignity
> And the regard of Heaven on all his ways,
> While other animals unactive range.

We come to a pleasant slope thick overspread with ash, whose timber, as old naturalists remark, ennobled by the spear of Achilles, is most useful for the purposes of common life*; and on each side of our way the busy ants have congregated in vast heaps, that show the industry to which man, by the Book of Revelation, is referred to learn wisdom. Proceeding, then, through stunted trees, over a sandy soil, covered with brushwood, and thickly studded with huge pieces of rock, as in the Sierras of Spain, the deep sand, showing many footsteps as if the toilsome way was much frequented, soon the Catholic Church is seen through one of the many avenues diverging from it, the first of which consists in the influence of faith upon practical life in general; for at the beginning we shall discover that Catholicity is the true centre for those who would find that life, sanctioned, purified, assisted, guided, and subjected to that just moderation which the dearest interests of those who follow it require. So let us proceed to observe how in the first place the Catholic religion supplies the highest sanction that can be

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* Plin. N. H. xvi. 24.

desired on this road, which is a consideration suggested by the very name it obtains from Catholicity, that will not be disdained by those who would virtuously engage in any of the pursuits which occupy mankind. What may induce some to suppose that action has most encouragement in the antagonistic principles of modern times is, perhaps, their observation of the immense importance which Catholicism ascribes to the contemplative life ; but from such premises they have no warrant for drawing that inference ; for when they announce their own determination to choose the former, religion prompts no other answer but the words of Hamlet, which almost literally may have been heard by many from the tongue of monks and men devoted to meditation without ever having read the poet,—

> "Why, right ; you're in the right.
> And so without more circumstance at all
> I hold it fit that we shake hands and part.
> You, as your business and desire shall point you,
> For every man hath business and desire,
> Such as it is,—and, for my poor part,
> Look you, I will go pray."

But while this is to be his employment, think not that he intends to reproach you whom he dismisses thus ; for although the active and contemplative life proceed in different directions, he knows that they yet lead to the same country as Prosper says in his book on Contemplation. And often he will even turn with pleasure to meditate on the former, saying with St. John Climachus, " I have often remarked that when we are in cities and in the midst of tumults, we are moved to tears." " Though it is true," the lover of the desert adds, " perhaps by the art of demons that, thinking we are not injured by these tumults, we may not fear to approach the world*." But still he would admit that some might even be assisted by them ; for oft this crowd is safer than the silent wood where Love's own doubts disturb the solitude : and as Socrates would use the precaution of making men, long escaped from the cavern and trained to truth, descend again into it, to observe if they would remain firm though drawn aside and solicited, or if they would be proof against the trial †, so the Catholic Church sends her youth, after long training in the peace of holy choirs, to bustle on the different walks of practical life, commanding them only to be faithful, whether their lives are to pass in the manufactory, in the office, at the counter, or in the tribunals, in the ranks in the army, or in the parliament, or in the council of kings. " They who cannot be saved on the lofty mountains of

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* Scalo Par. vii.

† De Repub. vii.

speculation," says Antonio de Escobar, "may find," as Isidore remarks, "some small city to which they can fly, and in the active life work out their salvation[*]." "For him," says St. Isidore, "who falls by contemplation into error, it would have been better to have plucked out the eye of contemplation, reserving the one of active life; for it would be better by simple action to proceed to life, than by the error of contemplation to be cast into hell[†]." But the Catholic rule goes yet further; for, as St. Bridget says, "in the spiritual life, he who perfectly desires to be Mary ought first to be Martha, labouring corporally to the honour of God[‡];" and it is a saying of St. Francis Borgia, which we may find on this road carved upon the trees, "Opera verba præstant:" other solemn words are here,—"Negotiamini donec veniam." These are addressed to all; and it was a truly Catholic idea, to have them inscribed round the gigantic bell of the Cathedral of Montreal. Religion not alone sanctions but commands all men to negotiate thus, and to labour, so that in one sense, strictly speaking, she sanctions no life but the active practical life, since either the body or the mind must labour. Accordingly, in the dialogue between Alcuin and Pepin, the second son of Charlemagne, we find these words, "What is the day? a provocation to labour." "Otium enim diu rationalis creatura sustinere non potest," says St. Bernard, adding, "If a man, therefore, does not labour in his vocation, he rushes after vices," which even Homer seems to have perceived when he uses the reproach—

Νήπιος, οὔτε πόνων εὖ εἰδὼς, οὔτ' ἀγοράων[§].

The tastes for different professions inherent in man, which have corresponding resources in nature and society, the different views of certain minds, united with a taste for physical labour, which form the variety of professions, find their highest sanction in the approval which the Catholic religion extends to them all; for the Church desires that of each of her children she may be able to say what the Roman author affirms of Terentius Varro, "In eodem lectulo et spiritus ejus, et egregiorum operum cursus extinctus est[||]." Accordingly, where faith is predominant, no one is really inactive. Hear what says a Spanish historian, supplying one instance, "At Burgos the inhabitants are not idle or strayers abroad; but all, not only men but women, seek to gain their bread by the labour of their

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[*] In Evang. Com. vol. vii. 57.

[†] De Isid. de Summo Bono, lib. iii. 15.

[‡] S. Birgittæ Revelat. lib. vi. 65.

[§] iv. 818.

[||] Val. Max. viii.

hands, exercising virtuously all kinds of liberal and mechanical arts. The merchants who enrich the city are full of faith and liberality. The priests are most studious of the divine worship and diligent in application to learning as well as to their sacred offices. The magistrates regard the public welfare with prudence and integrity. In fine, men of all orders and professions are exact in the performance of their respective duties; so that the city daily increases in prosperity and fame *."

"It is an error," says a learned and holy Spanish writer, "to suppose that the prodigious development of commerce in Spain was owing to the Moors. Catalonia, exclusively under the Catholic influence, took the lead in this respect, as may be proved in the historical memoirs upon the navy, commerce, and arts of the ancient city of Barcelona, by Capmany †." Catholicity, in fact, while sanctioning all employments of practical life, and sympathizing most with agriculture, has potent reasons for cherishing with great regard those which, like commerce, have a tendency to secure what is required by the religious interests of mankind; for commerce, abstraction made of its abuses and considered in itself, is one of the firmest bases of social life. "It requires peace; it establishes amicable relations between nations, tames the most ferocious, awakens the genius of art and industry, and by the communication of riches opens a way to the communication of ideas, and facilitates the propagation of truth ‡." Catholicism teaches that the merchant should not feel shame in contrasting his service with that of the military profession; that he also has three masters—the God not of armies but of peace; honour, not that which destroys life, but that which vivifies; a country, not dyed in blood, but covered with flowers and fruits, men and industry, under a king not always armed with the thunders of war, but a prince who prefers being the father of his own people rather than the conqueror of others §. Catholicity would adhere to the ancient definition of the use and object of navigation, as when Theseus said it was for this sole end

——— *ὡς διαλλαγὰς*
ἔχοιμεν ἀλλήλοισιν ὧν πένοιτο γῆ ‖.

We might cite the example of the sovereign pontiffs encouraging commerce, like St. Pius V., who expended a hundred thousand crowns to found a vast woollen manufactory, as is testified by

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* Marinei Siculi De Rep. Hispan. lib. iii.

† Le Prot. comparé au Cath. c. 60.

‡ Le P. Freudenfeld, Hist. Universelle, 78.

§ L'Abbé Coyer, la Noblesse commerçante, P. ii. 62.

‖ Eurip. Supp. 210.

the words inscribed on it—" Pio V., Pontifici Max., cujus beneficentia lanificium in urbe institutum." We might meet upon this road the blessed inmates of holy cloisters, labouring at every kind of manufacture, and accompanying manufacturers and merchants, availing themselves of their assistance to evangelize the nations; as when Meinhard, of the convent of Sigeberg, went with some Saxon merchants, in the time of Adrian IV., amongst the Livonians, to preach Christ to the pagans *. We might arrive at vast assemblages for the sake of commerce, expressly sanctioned and invited by bishops and monks, whose only complaint might be when kings would interpose an obstacle; as when Henry III., by establishing the fair of St. Edward, at Westminster, chose a season when it would operate to the prejudice of the fair of St. Ethelred at Ely †. But having sufficiently verified the first of our propositions, let us proceed on to prove the truth of the second, by observing the assistance which the active or practical life must always derive from the principles of the Catholic religion. On this road men desire to possess external and internal facilities for business; and now a glance will convince us that these must direct us to Catholicity as to their source. " Ki a afaire à preudome il se répose," says the proverb of the thirteenth century. To obtain this advantage, then, whether is it wiser to deal with men of faith, whose thoughts, principles, and actions represent the Catholic religion, or with men who hold in scorn its doctrine of responsibility, and the practices and actions which are required by it? Methinks we need not remain long for an answer to this question, which determines on which side are the greatest external facilities for those practical men, whose lives are to pass in action and collision with others. To trace the internal helps may require, perhaps, a more minute observation, though it will as infallibly lead us to the same origin. In the first place, it is much to have a reasonable and just principle of activity more sure than that arising from a mere human and secular source. Strong reasons make strong actions. Faith supplies this principle, teaching men even that " to make their fortune may be to save their souls." In directing the perfect, the Church does not require an activity, the secret of which she withholds from others. Let us hear, therefore, what she says to them. " A swimmer," says St. Paulinus, " before entering the river strips; but yet he will not get across merely by stripping, nor unless with the effort of his whole body and the movement of every limb, propelling himself with his feet and rowing with his arms. So likewise you will not pass the stream of this world merely by putting off and relin-

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* Hurter, Gesch. Inn. III. i. 264.

† Mat. Paris, 1252.

quishing riches and possessions. You must be active [*]." Hear again the Dominicans: "All must be assiduous; the priors in watching over the community, the teachers in teaching, the students in studying, the writers in writing, the singers in singing, the procurators in attending to the exterior things [†]." How well this rule was kept by Catholic seculars may be gathered from the example cited by Stowe, of that Roger Achley, mayor of London, "who kept the market so well, that he would be at the Leaden-Hall by four o'clock in the summer's mornings, and from thence he went to other markets, to the great comfort of the citizens:"

——— "vitanda est improba Siren
Desidia,"

said the Gentile; but watchfulness and promptitude, so essential to success in action, are pronounced to be high duties also, according to faith. "It is a fault," say the Dominican rules, "if when the sign is given, one does not proceed immediately, relictis omnibus [‡]." Occasion is represented, in the language of Catholic symbols, as being bald behind, to show that she cannot be caught by the hair and brought back, if once past:—

"Sero Phryges sapiunt, Post est Occasio calva,
Heu! sero sapimus, Post est Occasio calva [§]."

The forest itself will recognize the utility of such principles when they are transferred to the common order of human labour. The stranger, walking one day swiftly near St. Germain, passed an old cripple, who said, in reply to his salutation, that he was going to the convent in the wood. He left him on the high way, and struck into the by-paths along the side, that offered shade and delectation. After an hour's wandering, he was startled to see the same cripple far before him, still on the high way, and just arrived at his bourne. He had persevered and lost no time. Perseverance, therefore, is very useful on this road of practical men; and where is this imparted in such abundance as in the fountains of Catholicity? Patience, that great virtue of the middle ages [||], opens a wide avenue to the Church, which no one can mistake or avoid. Under its influence the monk and the workman can each refer to the other to find examples of its perfection. All are then alike Myrmidons—

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[*] Div. Paulini Ep. ii. ad Ser.

[†] Constitutiones Fratrum Ord. Prædicatorum—De levi culpa.

[‡] Id.

[§] Occasio arrepta neglecta.

[||] Guichard, Introduction to the Diversar. artium Schedula of Theophilus.

——— "parcum genus est, patiensque laborum;
Quæsitique tenax, et quod quæsita reservet *."

Blunt wedges rive hard knots. Religion presents common labourers as models to the perfect. "Let friars of less devotion," says the English author of examples upon the rule of St. Francis, "reflect on so many mariners and soldiers who, with an extraordinary courage and resolution, maintain their stations amidst the greatest rigours of the winter season, without the least complaint, as likewise so many thousands of half-naked poor, that scarce see a fire once in a moon †." The rule for all is, therefore, that given by St. Augustine, saying, "Illos sane existiment ditiores, qui iis sustinenda parcitate fuerint fortiores;" and I believe that men farthest from the religious sphere upon this road of action will agree to its expediency.

But the Catholic religion imparts an assistance more effectual still to those who follow the common life of action in the world by rendering them courageous and bold, cheering them on, as it were, with voice and hand,—an aid that will not be disdained by those who, like the stranger, have ever rowed the long cutter against rival boats, when friendly voices of encouragement resounded from the shore.

"Spiritus sine fide," says St. Bonaventura, "infirmus est usque ad mortem." From this pusillanimity it is preserved in solitude, that it can say, "In Deo meo transgrediar murum," of which St. Gregory says, "The wall is whatever obstacle opposes itself to our journey to God; and we pass over this wall, when through the love of Him we trample upon the delights of the world ‡." As an old French writer, Guillaume du Vair, first president of the parliament of Provence, says of Catholicity, "Let us follow this rule; and we shall find nothing so far from us that we cannot attain to it, and nothing so close to us that we cannot remove from it when necessary." "If we shall stand still," says the poet, contemplating a case most common in the absence of divine faith, without undertaking any thing great,

"In fear our motion will be mock'd or carp'd at;
We should take root here where we sit, or sit
State statues only."

The Catholic religion puts to flight such discouragement—

"That all-prevailing wisdom, when it reaps
The harvest of its excellence, o'erbounds
Those obstacles of which an earthly soul
Fears to attempt the conquest."

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* vii. 16.

† ch. ii. p. 37.

‡ De Septem Itineribus Æternitatis.

Another advantage arising to practical men from Catholicity, consists in their deliverance by means of it from a narrow exclusiveness of mind, and consequently of even corporeal capacity, which, by its injurious effects upon the whole character, cannot but impair its powers even in regard to the particular object to which its action is directed. " It is this religion alone," as a profound author observes, " which teaches to put at the side of one virtue a parallel virtue, to make counterpoise with it." The misery resulting from the absence of this safeguard is felt in those countries where men, through the passionate ardour for advancement, are left without the tastes which belong to a Catholic population, or the means of cultivating them. Formerly, the commercial activity of London was combined with those advantages of a city life secured by Catholicity, which Stowe remarks, saying that " men by this nearness of conversation are withdrawn from barbarous feritie and force to a certain mildness of manners, and to humanity and justice ; whereby they are contented to give and take right to and from their equals and inferiors, and to hear and obey their heads and superiors. Also the doctrine of God is more fitly delivered, and the discipline thereof more aptly to be executed, in peopled towns than abroad, by reason of the facility of common and often assembling ; and consequently such inhabitants be better managed in order, and better instructed in wisdom : whereof it came to pass, that at the first, they that excelled others this way, were called *astuti*, of the Greek word *ἄστυ*. The citizens of London," he continues, "of which the matrons are perfect Sabines, are respected and noted above all other citizens for the elegance of their manners, dress, table, and discourse. I think that there is no city in which more approved customs are observed—in attending churches, honouring God's ordinances, keeping festivals, giving alms, receiving strangers, confirming espousals, contracting marriages, celebrating weddings, preparing entertainments, welcoming guests, and also in the arrangement of the funeral ceremonies and the burial of the dead ;" some, at least, of which customs, as experience proves, the modern opinions in a great measure abrogate. In fact, the merchants and busy tradesmen of London in Catholic ages, found time and means for many things besides the affairs of their profession ; as when William Joyner, the sheriff, in 1239, built the choir of the Grey Friars' church, and the mayor, Whittington, the library ; from which record we pass, with an easy transition, to consider the advantage resulting from Catholicity to practical men, by means of the refreshment and consolations with which it supplies them in teaching, and by its doctrine of obligations enabling them to combine the cultivation of religious graces with assiduity in their secular employment.

The condition of practical men, deceived by the ambition of the world, in places which are deprived of the light of Catholicity, might be described in the first lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad—

Ὡς οἱ μὲν στενάχοντο κατὰ πτόλιν.

For to them riches, and all the objects of activity, become sooner or later instruments of punishment, as Pope Innocent III. says, "Labor in acquirendo, timor in possidendo, dolor in amittendo." "O what anxiety torments such mortals! and what complaints and groans are heard from them! Cares afflict them; solicitude disturbs them; fear tortures them; grief distresses them; sadness oppresses them; the poor and the rich, the master and the servant, the good and the evil, all are afflicted, wearied, exhausted, worn down *." But Catholics, however industrious, practical, and busy, are, unless it be through their own fault, otherwise preserved, refreshed, reanimated! The better part of their affections will not be with their hopes and merchandise on earth; their ventures are not in one bottom trusted, nor to any place in this world. Antonio de Escobar explains the difference of their character, in regard to peace of mind, in these simple words, referring to the qualities imparted by the Catholic faith; for, saith he, "the soul of a meek man is like a solitude, having much quiet; that of a passionate man is like a forum, full of tumult, in the midst of a city, where is a great noise of persons going and coming—a sound of animals, and hammers. Hasten to the solitude of the meek mind, that is like the top of a mountain where the air is attenuated, pure, and luminous; where are delicious fountains and flowers, green pastures, and odoriferous plants; and if there be any sound, it is a sweet murmur to inspire pleasure of birds and grasshoppers, or the sighs of zephyrs under the foliage, beneath which we find roses and violets, and lilies, and the sweet sound of water falling among the rocks, forming a harmony so delightful that it enchants us. Yet much more delightful is the mind of the meek. But, as Paschasius says, in order to ascend the second step of the beatitudes, you must have mounted the first; for no one can be meek unless he be poor in spirit, since while placed amidst strifes and contention, no mind can be meek if it has not begun by removing all occasions of discord. Hence St. Gregory Nyssen reads, instead of 'beati mites'—'beati leves;' for poverty of spirit makes men light-hearted; and you will be light or meek, if you lay down the worldly weight of riches and cares, in order to run on the celestial way †."

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* D. Inn. De Contemptu Mundi, i. c. 13, 14.

† Ant. de Escobar in Evang. Com. tom. vi. 346.

Provision is made by Catholicity for the spiritual refreshment of the busy, even there where merchants most do congregate. Thus Stowe relates that, in the year 1466, a fraternity of the Trinity of sixty priests, besides other brethren and sisters, served a chapel at Leaden-Hall in London, founded by William Rouse, John Risbie, and Thomas Ashby, and that some of these priests, every market-day in the forenoon, did celebrate mass there to such market-people as repaired to prayer; having once every year a solemn service with a general procession. All do not take advantage of such things, it will be said; of course not. "In a carnal man," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "involved in temporal cares, what place for devotion and praise*?" Ives de Chartres speaks of some of his parishioners, despisers of the word of God,—qui proni sunt solis terrenis inhiare, nunquam autem parati sursum cor levare†. But what greater torture than this privation which such men inflict upon themselves? and what is clearer than the inference to be drawn from observing it respecting the truth of the Catholic discipline with which it is so decidedly at variance? The practical man is thus directed to the Catholic religion by a sense of the refreshment which it yields, internally and externally, amidst the cares and business of the active life. He is occupied; but, if he truly follows it, not therefore deprived of the resource which the Maid of Orleans enjoyed amidst all her labours in the war, when, often towards evening during her campaigns, if she found a church, especially one of mendicant friars, she used to enter and kneel with the crowd of children. He too will be accustomed to retire there to kneel before the altar, where for a moment the noise of the city will die away, as if he had walked a little distance into the forest, and begun to hear the birds and to breathe again the embalmed air. Tunc aperientur oculi cæcorum, et aures surdorum patebunt; quia scissæ sunt in deserto aquæ—quæ erat arida erit in stagnum, et sitiens in fontes aquarum:—How precious to him will be such fountains, even in regard to the health, and ease, and happiness of the present life! for, as St. Bonaventura says, "the spirit walking on the journey of the active life, is often deprived of spiritual consolations and filled with bitterness. Origen," he observes, "has said well, that he who adheres to earth can only find what is of earth, and bitterness and dissipation‡." These are the moments when it comes to the avenue through which the Catholic Church is revealed, invested with all her inestimable consolations, offering to it the resource of its own prayers and of the prayers of others. Who can better appreciate their importance than those who are

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* In Epiph. Dom.

† Iv. Carnot. Ep. 67.

‡ De Septem Itineribus Æternitatis.

most exposed to the blows of what is termed fortune? and who more than all other perhaps verify the truth of what Pliny says, "that to no animal is fear more multiplied than to man—nulli pavor confusior*?" Yes, truly on this road, as St. Bonaventura says, "magno protectore indigemus, quia magnum bellum mundi et magnum bellum dæmonum et viciorum sustinemus †." John de Haro, governor of Porto Ricco, an illustrious general, writes to Marina de Escobar in these terms, on the 14th of February, 1626, "All my troubles, lady, are mitigated, when I consider that I am protected by your domination. That is clear to me on this occasion, when your holy prayers have caused me to conquer, and to escape with life, which was an evident miracle. For though I received fourteen wounds, and some of them were dangerous, fever did not come on, notwithstanding the unwholesome water and food. I write at large to my sister, who will relate all things, which I have not time to repeat. Let your domination, I pray, for the love of God, be mindful of me; and I will remember, as long as I live, that I am your obedient son. I commend myself also to the prayers of all who dwell in your holy house‡." Thus by the advantage of spiritual assistance also is the Catholic Church revealed to those who are treading the dry, sandy, and treacherous road of action in the ordinary affairs of life; for where else can they reckon upon having fervent prayers offered up for them that they may be protected and saved?

But here is now another point of view very remarkable, for we come to where her purifying influence is seen; at this turn the immensity of the benefits arising from her morality, and the evidence of her singular pre-eminence, became so apparent, that any purblind eye may find it out. So clear, so shining, and so evident is the bourne awaiting every one on this road, that no mistake is possible if they only proceed conscientiously to its end. St. Anthony, being one day at his prayers, saw the world covered with little nets set in all directions; and he exclaimed, weeping, "Who can avoid so many snares, and not fall into some one or other of them!"

——— "Ita Dædalus implet
Innumeras errore vias, vixque ipse reverti
Ad limen potuit: tanta est fallacia tecti §."

"Oh, if the demon were now to promise kingdoms," exclaims St. Thomas of Villanova, "how many adorers would he have! For a little gold or gilt money men will commit a thousand per-

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* Lib. vii. 2.

† De Plur. Mart. Serm. ii.

‡ Vit. Ven. Virg. Marinæ, P. II. lib. i. c. 36.

§ viii. 3.

juries and sins. What would they not do for a crown*?" "Woe, woe, woe to the hour," exclaims Suso, "when for all idle words, for all lost time, for all neglected good, men will be called to account; when every thing uselessly said, thought, and written, will be recited before God, and the whole world and its secret intention manifested†!"—

> "O pity and shame, that they, who to live well
> Enter'd so fair, should turn aside to tread
> Paths indirect, or in the mid-way faint!"

But quickly nature falls into revolt when gold becomes her object. "One of the seniors," says an old historian, "passing by the cell of a certain troubled brother, who to find rest for his thoughts was incessantly raising up, and pulling down, and breaking rocks, impelled by a demon whom he saw near him, asked him what he was doing? 'We have been labouring at that hard rock,' said he, 'and can scarcely break it.' 'Ah!' replied the old man, 'you have well said We; for you were not alone when you worked. There was another with you whom you saw not, not so much a helper as a violent instigator‡.'" It is not alone the reviewer, mocking Catholicity, whose "we" may be thus significative. It is to be feared that in every walk of practical life, the same pronoun might suggest a similar admonition, when used by those who say, "Leave the world for us to bustle in, and vent not scruples here among men all honourable; for if there be not a conscience to be used in every trade, ay, and one for high professional men too, we shall never prosper." Louis of Leon, not having the experience yielded by latter times, thinks that commerce uses most a conscience of its own forming, that it presents the greatest obstacles to salvation, and that the snares in agriculture are much fewer, the state of the country labourer being, as he thinks, the most perfect of all§. And yet, supposing that his observation is still just, how many men occupied even in that state are caught by the common enemy, like Thales himself, who, foreseeing a bad year of olives, hired many presses and made much money by them. He thinks, according to the old saying, that he has found the bean of the cake, though perhaps he has been only proving himself a vile cunning egotist—omnia callidè referentem ad utilitatem, acutum, versutum, veteratorem—how he would deceive you if he could‖! This is he who disputes about an ass's shadow, saying, that he has not let the shadow with the ass. Even the weak and wretched, to whom the bait is useless, are not the less quick to follow the false lure, and so

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* Dom. I. Quad. Serm.

† Suso Dialog. c. 6

‡ Ap. Joan. Maj. Mag. Spec. 427.

§ The Perfect Wife.

‖ De Finibus, ii. 16.

become fitting objects to excite the wonder of those who must needs pity them; as when the swineherd says to Ulysses, whom he supposes to be a poor wretched old man,—

——— τί σε χρὴ τοῖον ἐόντα
Μαψιδίως ψεύδεσθαι*;

Even the Gentiles could detect the deception practised thus by men upon themselves; "The goods," says Ion, "which we pursue violently in spite of heaven, cease to be goods when we possess them." Men thought, in later times, that they could play with their religious obligations, which they valued not, and leave safe all the interests that they prized; so they pursued their fortunes disdainful of the Catholic faith, which they gave up for some new opinions, though there were not wanting counsellors who said, like Solon striking the ground, "If you suffer such play, you will soon find it in your contracts." The lawyer, the politician, the very rulers joined in the play; for nothing could impede the unjust triumph; so was verified the saying of the ancient chorus,—

ἡδὺ μὲν αὐτίκα τοῦτο βροτοῖσιν,
ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ τελέθει ξηρὸν,
καὶ μὴν καὶ ὀνείδεσιν ἔγκειται δόμων†.

On this road, therefore, the Catholic Church stands full in view, by reason of its strict and effective morality, which saves practical men from making for themselves a false conscience—saves them from the gulfs and precipices through which they have to pass; while many, victims of the snares St. Anthony beheld, are falling on every side to perish in them miserably, cum sonitu, and for ever. Faith makes men honest, and enables them to understand "quantum inter laudem et lucrum intersit‡." Cicero, as Plutarch remarks, extolling a solitary example, was pretor in Sicily, and proconsul in Cilicia at a time when avarice was boundless; when simple larceny having become a baseness, pretors and generals took all by open force—when to rob was no longer a shame, and when those were entitled to thanks who did it with any moderation. It was then that Cicero showed the greatest contempt for riches, and evinced on every occasion his gentleness and his humanity. This integrity, which the sage of Chæronea deemed so wonderful, and which in fact deserved his admiration, by the influence of Catholicity loses its character of singularity; and therefore many busy men turn off from the avenue at once, saying, "Catholicism is pernicious; it is best not to meddle with it. It makes a man a coward; he cannot sin but it accuseth him; he cannot swear

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[*] xiv. 364. [†] And. 782. [‡] Cicero, Phil. ii.

but it checks him; he cannot sophisticate but it detects him. 'Tis a spirit that mutinies in a man's bosom; it fills one full of obstacles; it is turned out of towns and cities for a dangerous thing; and every man that means to live as he pleaseth, endeavours to trust to himself, and live without it." They are right. The Confessional, the advice, or even implied judgment of holy persons, who, with the fineness of their souls by reason guide us, may, and will, form a hindrance to many undertakings. The Marquis of Tabara, being engaged in an arduous affair, applied to Marina de Escobar, begging her to commend it to God. He seemed already on the point of succeeding in it, when the venerable Marina told him that it was not expedient, and sent Father Lewis de Ponte to announce to him the result of her prayers. Though it required a hard sacrifice, the marquis received her counsel as from God, and relinquished the pursuit of his project*. He acted like the pilot in a storm, who, being directed by the young St. Catherine of Sienna to turn his vessel to the wind, obeyed her, and in consequence came to the desired port in safety.

Catholicity beholds in many things familiar on the road of human industry, the tree of prohibition, and forbids the sweetness, though it promise that knowledge which made Eve address the apple in the words,

——— Experience, next, to thee I owe,
Best guide; not following thee, I had remain'd
In ignorance.

Under its piercing glance, the avaricious speculator is unmasked, as who that feigns is not? "Some men," says a Spanish historian, "fall into one mortal sin—others into another; but the gambler contracts all sins. He cares for no friend, for no relation—neither parents, nor wife, nor children; he denies God, and sells his soul to the demon. He loses time, sleep, fame, and life rather than money †." Nor is this all. In every legitimate enterprise Catholicity imposes its obligations, that may be felt as a restraint. The Prince de Conty, therefore, led by faith, says in his last will, "If it be necessary to consult a theologian on any point of conscience, arising out of the dispositions of my will, I pray my executors to choose such as are most able, et qui auront réputation de suivre des maximes plus étroites. Fait à Paris, 8 Mai, 1664, signé Armand de Bourbon." Such are the seeming obstacles arising from the Catholic religion. Its rule, indeed, is strict; its voice austere; but then see, on the other hand, what becomes of commerce, agriculture, the military, the

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* Vit. Ven. Virg. Mar. P. II. lib. ii. c. 16.

† Marin. Sicul. de Rebus Hispan. lib. xix.

judicial, the diplomatic life, and every mode of action in the world where its restraints are gone and its great voice silenced? Heaven knows with what a false conscience, by what by-paths and indirect crooked ways men will then try to secure, not alone a crown, but the smallest augmentation of their income, leading to what they call success in life. Is there no advantage to be derived in all walks from these awful denunciations of pains and penalties in store for prevaricators with which the old Catholic literature is so full? Let us cite but a few instances and judge :—

"He who by evil means advances his fortune in this world," says the peasant Breton's song, "diminishes it certainly in the next *." The monks deny that by such arts he can advance it even here, and showing how was lost in a month what crime gained through a long life, they sing of Falcaise, in the reign of Henry III.,

"Perdidit in mense Falco, tam fervidus ense,
Omine sub sævo quidquid quæsivit ab ævo;"

or, as in Warkworth's Chronicle they say,—"Suche goodes as were gaderide with synne were loste with sorrowe."

Against usury, which wears many faces, their lessons are so remarkable, that I must crave some pause to note them before we proceed to hear others of a more general character:— "Nihil usura turpius, nihil crudelius," says St. Gregory. "The cause of usury," says St. Stephen of Grandmont, "is the superfluous expense of men in their mode of life. No one ever needs it if he remains in modesty †." Yet usury, says Cæsar of Heisterbach, is of a most defective nature; for its gains rarely descend to the third or fourth generation. "It is not alone," he adds, with a profound simplicity, "of a defective, but also of a consumptive nature, for it consumes also whatever is mixed with it. A certain usurer committed, in trust, to a certain cellarer of our order, a large sum of money, which he sealed, and placed near the money of the monastery. On applying for his treasure some time afterwards, the cellarer, on opening the chest, found neither of the deposits, and, as the locks and seals were all untouched, the cellarer concluded that the usurer's coin had consumed the money of the monastery ‡." The Jews, whose persecutions during the middle ages arose more from their usurious cruelties than from any other cause, first came into England with the Conqueror. William Rufus favoured them so far, "that he sware by Luke's face, his common oath, if they could

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* Hersart de la Villemarque, Chants Populaires de la Bretagne.

† S. Steph. Grandim. Liber Sententiarum, 60.

‡ Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. lib. ii. 35.

overcome the Christians, he would be one of their sect." The Church continually interposed to preserve the people from usurers. "Roger Niger, bishop of London in 1229, is commended," says Stowe, "to have been a man of worthy life, excellently well-learned, a notable preacher, pleasant in talk, mild of countenance, and liberal at his table. He admonished the usurers of his time to leave such enormities, as they tendered the salvation of their souls, and to do penance for that they had committed. But when he saw they laughed him to scorn, and also threatened him, the bishop generally excommunicated and accursed all such, and commanded straitly that such usurers should depart farther from the city of London, which hither towards had been ignorant of such mischief and wickedness, least his diocess should be infected therewithal." Mathieu Paris, also, says, "that these measures were dictated by a true zeal for justice [*]." Such is the view that Catholicism takes of the usurer, whatever be his name,

"Who unto hell himselfe for money sold ;
Accursed usury was all his trade,
And right and wrong ylike in equall ballaunce waide."

"Of all sins," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "usury is the most difficult to cure ; for God will never pardon the sin till restitution be made. Other sinners, when they repent, find pardon ; but the usurer, even though he repent, will never be forgiven unless he restore what he has gained [†]." He then proceeds to show, by examples which he had heard from religious persons, what are the torments of tyrants, extortioners, usurers, flatterers, and proud men who die impenitent [‡]. "In the diocese of Cologne," saith he, "a few years ago, died a certain knight, named Theoderic, who had been a usurer. He falling sick, matter ascending into the brain, became frantic ; and, as every day he continued moving his teeth and mouth, his attendants asked, 'What do you eat, my lord?' and he replied, 'I am masticating denarius's ;' for it seemed to him that the demons were pouring money into his mouth. 'I cannot,' he said, 'endure these demons. Carry me to the monastery of Rode ; there are good men. Perhaps by their help I shall be freed from these demons.' Whither being carried, he exclaimed, 'Carry me back again, for I see more devils here than when I was in my house.' So the miserable wretch was carried back to the town of Wurma, and tormented by demons he expired, showing how execrable a sin is usury. Some said that they saw denarii in his mouth and throat [§]." However, "Such is the virtue of contrition," says

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[*] Ad ann. 1235.

[†] Lib. ii. c. 8.

[‡] Lib. xii. c. 1.

[§] Lib. xi. c. 42.

this author, "that no sin can prevail against it, neither perjury, nor homicide, nor theft—not even usury *." He then cites instances, amongst which are the following:—

"An old Saxon monk and priest of a black order related to me a marvellous thing respecting a certain usurer, which, for aught I know, has never been written. He said that there was a rich usurer who had in pawn many treasures belonging to churches, and that he at length fell sick. Then first returning, though late, to himself, he began to consider the weight of usury, the torments of hell, and the difficulty of penance; and calling for the abbot of a black order, well-known to him, he said, 'My lord, I am very ill; I cannot ordain any thing respecting my property, nor restore my usurious gains. If you will but answer for my soul to God and grant me absolution, I will place all my goods, moveable and unmoveable, in your power, to do with them what you will.' The abbot seeing the man contrite, replied, 'I will deliberate,' and hastening to the bishop, he asked him 'what he ought to do.' The bishop answered, 'I am of opinion that you ought to answer for his soul, and from his substance restore the treasure of my church.' So returning to the sick man, he told him that he consented; upon which the other desired him to place all his goods and himself with them upon carts, which stood ready, and convey them to the monastery. He had two chests full of gold and silver, and many pledges in vases, and books, and various ornaments, and corn, and wine, and much furniture, and cattle without end. The abbot having ordered the carts to be loaded, placed the sick man in one of them and proceeded to the monastery, but the penitent died as he entered it. The abbot then restored all the goods to the owners who claimed, and with the rest gave large alms for his soul, reserving the residue for the wants of the brethren. That night the body being in the church, and the monks in the choir singing the office, lo! four black spirits appeared at the left of the bier; which so terrified the brethren, that all fled but one senior, when, lo! as many holy angels appeared opposite to the demons: and then the chief of the latter cried out, 'Dixit insipiens, ut delinquat in semet ipso, non est timor Dei ante oculos ejus;' adding 'This is fulfilled in him.' Another said, 'Quoniam dolose egit in conspectu ejus, ut inveniatur iniquitas ejus ad odium.' The third added, 'Verba oris ejus iniquitas et dolus; noluit intelligere ut bene ageret.' And the fourth said, 'Iniquitatem meditatus est in cubili suo; astitit omni viæ malæ, malitiam autem non odivit.' Then they all joined in, 'If God be just, and his words true, this man is ours; for he is guilty of all this:' but the holy angels answered, 'If you cite

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* Lib. ii. c. 31.

the Davidic verses against him, proceed.' The demons answered, 'We have cited enough for his damnation;' to whom the angels said, 'Then we will recite the residue of the psalm which you suppress in silence;' and then the first said, 'Domine, in cœlo misericordia tua et veritas tua usque ad nubes;' and the second said, 'Justitia tua sicut montes Dei, judicia tua abyssus multa;' and the third added, 'Homines et jumenta salvabis, Domine, quemadmodum multiplicasti misericordiam tuam, Deus:' and the fourth added, 'Filii autem hominum in tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt;' and then they all said, 'Since God is just, and the scripture must be fulfilled, this son of man is ours; for he fled to the Lord, he will go to the Lord; for under the shadow of his wings he hoped: he will be inebriated by the fatness of his house, for he was inebriated with the tears of contrition.' At these words the demons disappeared, and the angels rose in triumph with the soul*."

Now hear another of his narratives—

"On every one's tongue is the deed of a certain usurer at Cologne, who lies buried in the church of St. Gereon Martyr, who, when he was rich and avaricious, at length was struck with compunction, so that he went to a priest and confessed, and promised that he would give all his goods to the poor; to whom the priest said, 'Begin with filling a chest with slices of your bread, and shut it up;' and when he opened it the next day, lo! the chest was all filled with toads. 'See now,' said the priest, 'how alms made from usury can please God!' Greatly terrified, he replied, 'Sir, what shall I do?' 'If you wish to be saved,' replied the other, 'I advise you to lie down this night naked amongst these toads.' He preferring immortal things to the horror of perishable worms, through fear of hell and desire of the celestial country, lay down amongst them. The priest shut down the chest and went his way. The next day nothing was found but the bones of the man. If the alms of the usurer are turned into toads, the rest of his substance, we may be sure, is converted into worms—infernal, immortal worms, of which the prophet saith, that they shall never die, but shall eat the bodies of those subject to them for everlasting ages †."

"In the time of Philip, king of the Francs, still reigning," for I do not think we can be weary listening to him, "there was a rich usurer in Paris named Theobald, having immense possessions and treasures collected by usury. He being divinely moved to contrition, came to Maurice, bishop of Paris, to follow his direction, who, being most fervently bent on constructing the Church of our Lady, advised him to apply his riches to that work; but he, wishing to have also the advice of Master

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* ii. c. 32.

† ii. c. 33.

Peter Chantor, the latter on hearing what the bishop had counselled, said, 'He did not give you good advice this time; but go and cause it to be cried through the city that you are ready to restore to all whatever you have gained by your dealings;' and it was so done. Then, returning to the master, he said, 'My conscience testifies that I have restored all my usurious gains, all comers being satisfied, and still much remains.' Then he, 'Now, then, you can securely give alms.' Lord Daniel, abbot of Sconavia, told me, that by the advice of the same Chantor, he had proceeded through the streets nearly naked, a servant driving him on with a rod, and saying, 'Lo! this is he whom princes honoured for his money, and who held the sons of nobles in pledge *.'"

He adds another instance,—

"A certain usurer in our time died at Liege, and was refused burial in the cemetery. His wife went to Rome and pleaded before the pope, supplicating that her husband might have Christian burial, and saying that as she and her husband were one, she was ready to make every satisfaction in her power; so, on obtaining permission, a cell was built for her near the tomb; and then, shutting herself up, she studied to please God with fasting, and alms, and prayer, and vigils day and night; and after seven years her husband appeared to her, and told her that his pains were alleviated; and after other seven years he appeared again, and said that he was wholly delivered †."

But against every form of prevarication on the road of practical life the old Catholic books have most impressive warnings. To beware of mixing money gained by honest means with that which was the fruit of general injustice, many histories are inserted in the Magnum Speculum, as that of the navigator who received gifts from St. John the Almoner ‡. One instance is thus related—"A certain noble, named Ermoadus, being in danger of death, sent forty solidi as an offering to implore St. Launomar of Chartres to pray for him; who refusing to receive the money, at length was prevailed on, and he placed it on the altar and prayed; then, examining the money piece after piece, upon his knees, he found one which was pure, and not the fruit of rapine and injustice, so retaining that one he gave back all the rest, saying to the bearer, 'O, man! that money is an abomination to the Lord, who rejects impious gifts §.'"

That the executors of wills, having many occasions of retaining unjust wealth, are more easily captured by the demon, is shown in other narratives. An instance is thus related: "It happened once, that a certain solemn preacher was inveighing against the

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* Lib. ii. c. 34, 35.

† xii. c. 24.

‡ 70.

§ 259.

malice of usurers, when a man deeply involved in that crime came in by chance as to pass through the church, for he was not in habit of hearing sermons. Hearing thus casually that a man who retained usurious goods could not be saved, he went out quickly, struck by his own conscience, and soon after fell sick. Remembering what he had heard, he sent for the preacher, confessed to him that nearly all his immense possessions were the fruits of usury; and he besought him to give him advice quickly, lest he should lose heaven. The preacher, knowing that in arduous things precipitation is to be avoided, deferred answering; till the sick man again urging him, he advised him to choose four most faithful men, of undoubted probity, and to charge them to make restitution of the property to the specified persons, and then to order himself as a poor mendicant to be carried to the public hospital, and there to live upon alms till his death. The sick man agreed, chose four of his friends in whom he thought he could confide, gave them the charge in all detail, and then caused himself to be carried to the hospital, firmly resolving, if he recovered, never to depart from equity again. The next night the preacher saw in a vision the demon in a juvenile form, weeping and groaning, and an old devil laughing at his distress, saying, 'Why, thou fool, dost thou weep?' 'Why should I not weep?' replied the other, 'having so long captive one whom I see snatched from me?' 'Thou art young and silly,' said the senior demon. 'Thou shouldst rejoice rather. Spread thy nets for these executors, and thou wilt soon see that for this one lost thou hast gained four; for these men will retain much of the property for themselves, as men of this kind often do.' The preacher awoke, and thenceforth in all his public and private discourses warned men who had charge of administering to wills. The sick man died and went to heaven. But how the executors discharged their duty I know not. God knows. I only know that the demons' dialogue had such an effect on the preacher that he became more than ever eloquent *." But let us still hear Cæsar of Heisterbach, speaking of crimes in active life, and their remote consequences:—

"A certain citizen, under type of alms," he says, "made a feast for the poor, amongst whom there was one possessed, who, on attempting to eat with the others, could not swallow the meat; and when the bystanders said, 'Wretch! why do you not suffer the man to eat?' he answered, 'I cannot; for these alms are from rapine.' 'You tell a lie,' they said; 'for he is a good man who offers them.' 'I lie not,' said he; 'that calf on which they are dining, is in the fifth generation from a cow which he had by rapine.' I remember, also, that there was a

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* Joan. Major, Magnum Speculum, 644.

possessed woman in Briseke, who, one day, on seeing John Burgrave of Rincken, as one related to me who heard her, cried out, in the presence of many, 'That calf, which you plundered from such a widow, melted down by us in infernal flames, we shall send, drop by drop, into your eyes, and through all your body we will distil its fatness; and the wine which was sold under your banner in this town we will pour boiling down your throat.' At which words, the soldier being terrified, removed the tavern, and restored the calf to the woman."

Again, he says—

"A citizen of Andernach, named Erkinbert, father of our monk John, one day as he was going before light to a certain law court, met a figure mounted on a black horse, breathing smoke and flame from its nostrils, one time keeping the road, another bounding off and galloping in the fields. Erkinbert was terrified, but he strengthened himself with the sign of the cross against the devil, and drew his sword against man, for he did not know what it was. When it came near, however, he recognized him as a certain famous knight lately dead, Frederic by name, from the town of Kelle. He seemed wrapped up in sheepskins, carrying a load of earth on his shoulders. 'Are you, indeed, Lord Frederic?' he asked; when it answered, 'I am he.' 'Whence do you come? what does all this mean?' 'I am in punishment; these are the fleeces that I robbed from a widow, which are now scalding me; and this weight that oppresses me, is part of a field which I wrongfully seized; and if my sons would restore it to the right owner, I should be greatly alleviated,' and so he vanished. Erkinbert told this to the sons, but they preferred leaving their father in eternal flames to making restitution *."

So, also, in the vision of Thurcill, related by Mathieu Paris, "A merchant, who had used false weights, and sold torne cloth for new in dark shops, was seen tortured by demons while appearing to exercise his old nefarious frauds †." But let us again hear Cæsarius:—

"Lutharius, the superior of Bonn, had an avaricious clerk, a canon of the monastic church; and because he depended much upon him, Walter scraped together much money, and at his death did not leave so much as one denarius for his soul. At the hour of his death, Godefrid, canon of the church of St. Andrew in Cologne, before his lord, Adolphus, then dean of the greater church, afterwards archbishop, was sleeping in the porch of the clerks, who, in a vision, beheld the said Walter counting a pile of money on a table, with a demon like an Ethiopian sitting opposite, and considering him computing, Walter

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* xii. c. 14.

† Ad ann. 1206.

frequently putting furtively some of the money under his vestment; which being counted, the demon said, 'Walter computes the money, and subtracts so much.' Then, clapping his hands, he added, with a loud laugh, 'Walter subtracted more than two hundred marks:' for through a certain pride he used to be called so. Godefrid, exciting his lord, related what he had seen; and it was found that the same hour he had expired. The superior took all his money, asserting that it was his own *." "But Godefrid no less miserably died, for he was very avaricious, and he had collected a great deal of money. One day, in the time of Philip, king of the Romans, he made a feast in his house to the debtors of his lord, from the money of the said Philip, which he had given to Adolphus for his coronation, proposing to restore what had been lent to him; and before he had tasted of the feast, he was struck with apoplexy, and died without confession or sacred communion. After his death, a certain priest saw him in a vision at Cologne, placed on an anvil, while James the Jew, yea, the bishop of the Jews, who was intimate with him, extended him with a hammer until he was as thin as a penny-piece. And truly the punishment seemed well adapted for the man †." "In the diocese of Cologne, in the town of Bude, was a certain rustic named Henry, who, being about to die, saw a great fiery stone hanging in the air over him; from the heat of which suffering much pain, he cried out horribly, 'Lo, the stone over my head burns me!' A priest was called, who heard his confession, but it availed him nought. 'Recollect,' said he, 'whether you ever defrauded any one of that stone.' When he replied, 'Ah! I do remember that I moved a stone which served as a boundary, in order to enlarge my own fields.' 'That is the cause of it, then,' said the priest. So, confessing his sin, and promising satisfaction, he was delivered from that terrible vision ‡." "In the town of Recheym, a certain rustic being at the point of death, declared that he saw a devil sitting near him, threatening to thrust a fiery post into his mouth. Conscious of his crime, to whichever side he turned he always saw the devil with the post. The fact was he had transferred a post of the same size and form from his land to the field of another man, a certain knight named Godefrid, adding to his own what he had taken from the other. Urged by this necessity, he sent a messenger to him, promising to restore what he had taken, and imploring his forgiveness; to whom the knight sent answer, 'I will not forgive him; let the son of woman be well tormented.' Again terrified as before, he sent other messengers, but he could not find pardon. A third time, others coming with tears, and saying, 'We beseech you, lord, by the intuition of

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* xi. c. 43.

† xi. c. 44.

‡ xi. c. 47.

God to receive back your own, and forgive this wretch's fault, for he cannot die, and cannot live;' the other answered, 'Provided I am well avenged, I will forgive.' From that hour all the diabolic terror ceased *."

These are strange records to present to men of the nineteenth century, so many of whom affirm or half-suspect that property, and not its violation, constitutes crime, while those who oppose such sophists seem to have lost all fear of the future judgment. Even on men who shrink from contradicting the primeval traditions of mankind, and the laws of the Christian religion, it is clear that the form and details of the above narratives are likely to produce very different impressions from those which they once wrought upon generations at least as intelligent as their own. In our day a few common formulas of disdain can easily put to silence those who may venture to propose the records of the old Benedictine. Idle narratives, we shall be told, they are, monkish tales, absurd contemptible legends. Every one who alludes to them must be prepared for hearing expressions of this kind. But it is not improbable, notwithstanding, that there are still persons on whose minds these very monks' tales, legends, traditions, histories, or what you please to call them, may be able to make a very durable impression; and then, with respect to the practical consequence of believing that the actions of every day will be taken into account thus hereafter, which is the only point that here concerns us, I presume there will be no great difference of opinion. At all events, oh! philosopher of this age, be not too confident! tradesman, merchant, man of business, soldier, lawyer, or whatever else you be, mock not, mock not! the body of your discourse is sometimes guarded with fragments, and the guards are but slightly basted on; ere you flout old ends any further, examine your conscience; and so I leave you. Only, when you smile at the punishments described, remember what a politician of your own school remarks, "that human affairs, even in this life, play amongst themselves with a kind of sublime irony; that the most awful destinies have sometimes, like madness, bursts of laughter amidst tears, and that these contrasts are the railleries of Providence. Frivolous men," he adds, "laugh at them; serious men respect them, bow themselves down and tremble." "Hæc ego nesciens," says St. Augustin, "irridebam illos sanctos servos tuos. Et quid agebam cum irridebam eos, nisi ut irriderer abs te † ?" Further, they would do well to consider also, how in trade, in law, in war, in government, all practical men in short, in every walk of life, have great reason to desire that those engaged with them may be constantly referred, as they would be by faith, and the literature

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* xi. c. 48.

† III. Conf. x.

which it inspires, to the judgments of God, which cannot render to every man according to his works, without, by their adaptation to sin, proclaiming all that it contains of folly as well as guilt, thereby justifying the smiles of most righteous indignation, great reason to wish that their contemporaries may be familiarized, before it is too late, with those books of accounts, "in which," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "the dead will find all their thoughts, words, and works written—books in which the letters seem now to be obliterated, that will hereafter appear plainly legible, like those writings on papyrus with certain juices of chemists, which do not appear until exposed to the fire, but which are no sooner presented to it than all the letters immediately are seen. So in that fire which awaits the world, all the hidden things of darkness will be made manifest, and all the counsels of the heart. St. Bernard therefore says of conscience, —Membrana subtilis est, et atramento imbibita: radi non potest quicquid in ea scriptum est, etsi non appareat modo scriptura illa*." It may be indeed an unworthy consideration, but the fact is, that the mere desire of promoting their own success in their respective employments can direct practical men to desire an extension of the influence of the Catholic faith, which affords the best security against the calamities, disgrace, and ruin to which they are exposed by the dishonesty of others, of their rivals, of their assistants, and perhaps even of their own children; for the effects of such instruction, if unimpeded, would be a deep sense of responsibility, and a delicacy of conscience on the least as well as on the greatest occasions. Cæsarius relates an instance in proof, and methinks, after such common and self-evident reasons for esteeming them, we may return to his pages with less apprehensions on the score of their simplicity. "A certain convert brother of Cynna, which is a house of our order, being sent," he says, "one day on a mission by his abbot, was passing in a boat by the river Albis, which flows through Saxony. The boatman demanding his fare, he replied, 'That he had no money about him.' 'Then,' said the boatman, 'give me in pledge your belt or your knife.' 'I cannot be without these,' said he, 'but I promise you that I will send you the half-denarius,' and the boatman allowed him to proceed. The brother departing, because it seemed a trifle made light of his promise, and never sent the coin. Not long after, falling sick, and becoming almost dead in the estimation of all, he seemed to have before the eyes of his soul that half-denarius which he had not remembered in confession, and this increased in size till it seemed to become greater than the whole world; and as his soul struggled to fly upwards it was prevented by this obstacle, till at length

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* De Nat. Virg. M. Con. ii.

it was permitted to return to the body. He related the vision, and, as all were astonished, a whole denarius was sent by the abbot with all quickness to the boatman; and in the very hour when he received it the convert brother expired. This was told me by the abbot of Livonia, who said he had heard it from the abbot himself*." Let us hear one example more from the same author. "When Hermann, dean of Bonn, was parish priest of St. Martin's in Cologne, a certain woman came to him one day in Lent to confession. So, kneeling down, she began to enumerate all the good actions that she could remember having done, like the Pharisee in the Gospel, 'I fast on bread and water so many Fridays every year, and I give so much alms, and I frequent such and such churches, and so on.' To whom the priest said, 'Madam, for what purpose are you come? Is it to receive penance for these works? Why do you not mention your sins?' and she answering, 'I am not conscious of any,' the priest asked, 'What is your condition in life?' 'I sell iron,' said the woman. 'Are you in habit, then, of mixing smaller particles of iron into greater ligatures, that you may sell all.' 'I am,' said she. 'Ah! then here is a mortal sin,' he replied, 'for this is theft.' 'Do you ever lie,' he asked again, 'or swear, or speak evil of your rivals, or envy those that sell more?' 'Truly,' she replied, 'I do, sometimes.' 'Then these all,' said he, 'are mortal sins, and unless you do penance will consign you to hell.' Ever afterwards the woman made her confessions well†." I repeat it; such narratives, sooner or later, will produce the fruit that is most prized upon the road that we are following. In general the Catholic Church is seen full in view, when men are seeking justice in those with whom they have to deal in any form; for her voice is that expressed by the old lines ascribed to the sibyl,—

> "Ne ditescas injuste, sed ex juste partis vivé,
> Esto contentus presentibus, et ab alienis abstine‡."

"Whatever you can predicate in praise of any one," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "whether it be that he is deeply learned, or a great artist, or a great master, nothing sounds so grandly as when you proclaim that he is a good man; for this is the highest summit of praise§." Is it thought so where the antagonists of the Catholic Church succeed in their projects of a progress, as it is called? "Ne deserat justitiam propter lassitudinem," says the rule of St. Pachomius ||. Is such a caveat needless where confession and restitution are abolished? Yet wherever the Catholic faith prevails, the epithet of good is still the highest, and men

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* xi. c. 35.

† Lib. iii. c. 44.

‡ Sibyll. Orac.

§ De S. Ægidio, Serm. i.

|| c. clix.

faint not in well-doing. For hear even one who witnessed and perhaps contributed to its decline—hear Poggius, in his funeral eulogium on Leonardus Arretinus, saying of the funeral pomp, "Non generi, non majoribus, non parentibus Leonardi, non amicis rogantibus ii honores tribuuntur, sed probitati, prudentiæ, continentiæ, integritati vitæ," adding, "Truly to me the piety of this commonwealth seems deserving of great praise in granting these honours to the memory of such a man, which excites the living to follow that course of life which raised him to such eminence, namely, continence, probity, innocence, a free mind in council, a diligent mind in action. This is what a state should seek and desire rather than science—though, if letters be added, they should not be rejected—but those who possess more science than virtue become cunning men, pernicious to the republic, and useless to others, turning to the destruction of the nations what might have been applied to the salvation of men*." The object of this panegyric had furnished an example, in his own words, in praise of Charles Malatesta, duke of Rimini; for Leonardus Arretinus, speaking of him, had said, "Along with these great qualities and admirable talents, I find in him these virtues, without which all excellence is deformed,—namely, modesty, meekness, tranquillity, religion, sanctity, and integrity†." Wherever, again, Catholicity is still employed, the weariness which that holy rule, just quoted, deprecates is not permitted to prevail. It keeps men just, saying with the poet—

> "Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem;
> Fortunam ex aliis‡."

Cicero apologizes for a man proceeding at length to cheat through the ardour of desperate speculation, "In dando autem et credendo processit longius; nec suam solum pecuniam credidit, sed etiam amicorum? Stulte: quis negat?—Sed est difficile, quod cum spe magna sis ingressus, id non exsequi usque ad extremum§." Does this language sound more attractive to thee, O London, than that of the Catholic Church, which pronounces bankruptcy a crime? By the rules of 1731, if any member of the confraternity of tradesmen, who had the privilege of carrying the shrine of St. Geneviève, should become a bankrupt, his name was immediately to be effaced from the list‖. Was the poor Catholic banner then a thing so worthless, oh! you men of the Exchange, that it should never be seen upon your road? and

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* Poggii Orat. Fun. de Obitu Leonardi Arret.

† Leon. Arret. Epist. lib. iii. c. 9. ‡ xii. 435.

§ Pro Rabirio.

‖ Statuts de la Compagnie de Messieurs les Porteurs de la Châsse de S. Gen. Paris, 1731.

are you so wholly uninterested in the faith of those whom an old historian presents to you as being "entre ceux qui sont demeurez dans les termes de l'ancienne rondeur et integrité, et ne scavent les ruzes et piperies des nouveaux venus*?"

Would it be so great a calamity, after all, if your contemporaries were to embrace even that old ascetic morality which was identical with a supreme love of justice in all relations? for which, to cite but one example, St. Gertrude had such zeal, "that if required or permitted, she would have opposed a whole army in her own person to defend it, having no friend so dear to her as justice†." One question more. Are you more than ever convinced of the happy progress of civilization in regard to its influence on your own affairs, after meeting some memorial of old Catholic manners, as, for instance, some ancient epitaph, such as that of a Burgundian and his wife, on whose tomb were these lines—

"Non his ambitio, non sedit pectore livor;
At simplex probitas, et sine labe fides?"

Yes, reason on it as you will, the fact is so. The Catholic religion furnishes the best security that practical men can find, search where they please; for, be it noted, whatever may be their own opinions at the present day, the probity and faith that still exist amongst them is due to no innovations in matters of religion by human laws established three centuries ago, but to the old fruits of virtue, which, by right of prior possession, of immemorial tenure, and of legal transmission, are Catholic to their inmost core. "These are the virtues of the saints, the treasures not of the proud rich, but of the humble poor, the patrimony of hearts, the incorruptible wealth of manners‡," strict, yet allowing latitude to all reasonable desires. "In omnibus enim quod irreprehensible est," as Fulbert of Chartres says, "defendit Ecclesia§." Balmes treats well on the effects of Catholicity on the public conscience of Europe, so rich in sublime moral maxims, rules of justice and equity, sentiments of honour and dignity, which in the wreck of private morality renders the audacity of the corruption of the ancient world no longer possible. "To what," he asks, "is this to be attributed? To Protestantism?" "Nay," he replies, "but solely to the Catholic Church. Protestantism has not contributed in the least to form this public conscience; but, on the contrary, its action has been employed in weakening its force or falsifying its application ||." In one respect, indeed, the innovations may be traced in the greater

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* Pierre Matthieu, Hist. de Hen. IV. liv. vii.

† Insin. Div. Piet. S. Gert. i. c. 7.

‡ Regula Solitariorum, cap. iv.

§ Epist. lxi.

|| ch. xxviii. 30.

aptitude for irresponsible success, produced by the substitution of worldly prudence for that puerile sincerity which Antonio de Escobar prescribed to all men, citing the examples of St. John de Sahagun and of St. John the Baptist, of whom Paulinus sung,

> " Nascetur dignus tanto sponsore beatus
> Perpetuusque puer *."

Of such puerility in the affairs of life many instances are related in old Catholic books. Thus we are told that a certain merchant of Genoa, named Obertus, was of such legality, that when some one falsely affirmed that he had deposited 500 gold pieces with him, and could adduce no written document, the faithful merchant said that he had never received any such money ; and when the other began to vociferate, Obertus called him aside, and said, " Silence, my son ; take the 500 gold pieces which you say you deposited with me ;" and he counted him out the money, choosing to lose it unjustly rather than to detract from the good fame of the other †. " Si quod vitium in re quæ venditur, notum fuerit," says the rule of the brethren of the order of the Holy Trinity, " indicetur emptori." Thus is puerile simplicity transferred to trade ; so true to Catholicity is the poet, where unconsciously he paints it, saying—

> " This commerce of sincerest love needs
> No mediative signs of selfishness,
> No jealous intercourse of wretched gain,
> No balancings of prudence cold and long."

But let us mark examples ; and the first instance I shall cite, though taken from the cloister, and calculated to cause smiles from many now, represents a virtue and results which were often practised and realized in the ordinary domain of secular affairs, where childlike simplicity, notwithstanding its ignorance, was blessed. " In the church of St. Gereon Martyr, at Cologne," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, " a certain canon in our time, of noble birth, by name Werimbold, was of great simplicity. Nevertheless, he was made cellerarius of that church, and the Lord supplied his deficiency, so that all things that passed through his hands were blessed. One day, entering the granary and seeing several cats running about, he could scarcely wait for the hour of chapter, when, prostrating himself at the feet of the dean, he sought absolution from his office, resigning the keys ; and when the dean asked him why he did so, he replied, ' Because I cannot see the loss and injury of the church.' ' What loss ?' asked the dean. ' I have this day,' he said, ' seen many cats that are devouring all its store ;' and when they

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[*] In Evang. Com. tom. vii. 96.

[†] Magnum Speculum, 286.

assured him that the cats eat only mice, and were of service, it was only after much persuasion that they could prevail on him to take the keys again; for they had learned by experience that the Lord blessed his simplicity. On another occasion some servants having stolen some money and fled with it, he lamented aloud, and when they consoled him, he replied, 'I do not weep for the loss, but for the peril. The money was not given, but stolen, and if the miserable man be taken and condemned, I shall be guilty of his death.' We often see," adds the narrator, "that religious houses, under such simple administrators, grow rich in externals, while under cunning men, exercised in the school of the world, they fall into poverty *." Again; we find the following example on the path of ordinary trade:—"In the imperial town of Donsburg, in the diocese of Cologne, a certain widow used to make and sell cider. One day, the town having caught fire, and the flames approaching her house, having no hope in human, she fled to divine assistance; for, placing all her hogsheads, and vessels, and measures, before her, as if a kind of rampart, in great simplicity of heart she prayed, saying, 'O Lord God, just and merciful, if ever I have deceived any man with these measures, I wish my house may be burnt; but if I have done what is right in thy eyes, I pray thee to have mercy on me, and to spare me and my furniture in this necessity.' Wondrous faith in the woman, wondrous humility in God! as if restrained by the widow's prayer, the flames devoured all things around her, and to the stupor of all beholders, after touching, and licking as it were, that inflammable matter round her house, the flames never set it on fire †." Mathieu Paris relates an instance which might lead the banker of modern times to see in the Templars men who practised the highest virtue that is essential to the discharge of his own especial duties; for he says, "that about the feast of St. Martin, the king, Henry III., was told that his ancient justicier, Hubert de Bourg, had a rich treasure in the Temple. The king then ordered into his presence the master of the Templars, and asked with an imperious tone if this were true. The master replied, that Hubert had placed money there under his protection and that of his brethren; but that he knew not the amount. The king then required him immediately to give up his money, saying that it had been fraudulently taken from his royal treasury; but the brothers replied, that they would give up this money to no one, as it was a deposit entrusted to them. Then the king, fearing to violate the rights of the Church, commanded Hubert to send an order to the Templars to give it up ‡."

But further, Catholicity supplies a certain general guidance

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* lib vi. c. 7.

† x. c. 31.

‡ Ad ann. 1232.

applicable in every circumstance upon the ways of practical life, which will impress on the mind of observers a conviction of its truth, perhaps more profoundly than an attention to its special direction on any one particular subject could have effected—"Facilius enim est," as an old Benedictine says, "in paucis patentioribus viis aliquid investigare, quam in multis diverticulis."

Descending through the rocky pass upon this great level road of action, the beaten way leads us soon still lower towards a valley, which even thus far exhales its noisome steam. "For here," as St. Bonaventura says, "the devil deceives men in four modes;—First, by advising good for the sake of evil, as when men embrace religion only to apostatize. Secondly, advising evil under the appearance of good, as to commit perjury in order to preserve the goods of another person. Thirdly, dissuading from good, as injurious or suspicious, or leading to evil. And, Fourthly, dissuading from evil in order that worse evil may be committed, as when the demon dissuades from moderate temperance, in order to lead to indiscreet abstinence, which is worse*."

Against these and corresponding snares the Catholic religion arms men, by directing the intention which, without its mystic clue, is left to wander in vagueness and uncertainty; for when exposed to these wiles, all have some false object glittering before them, which they follow heedless of their supreme good, as Peter of Blois says, "One pursuing his end by the military career, another by trade, another by art, another by rapine; and as fast as each attains to his object, it becomes insipid and loathsome to him, and he turns to something else. This is the circuit of the impious†." Even when actions are themselves commendable, the want of a right direction in regard to the intention of their agents must sooner or later leave pernicious consequences. This takes from men's achievements, though performed at height, the pith and marrow of their attribute. "For exterior works," as Don John of Palafox observes, "are the hands of the dial, which mark the hour within‡."

And now upon this road we come to a noble avenue, through which a solemn sound is heard of voices chanting, "Deduc me, Domine, in via æterna§;" and we behold before us in all her purity the holy Church, teaching and, what is more, enabling men to live in accordance with the doctrine, that we all have been created to a supernatural end—to serve God in this life by grace, and enjoy Him in the next in glory. "The first journey of eternity," says St. Bonaventura, "is the right intention of

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* Compend. Theolog. Verit. ii. 27.

† Pet. Bles. de Charitate Dei, 4.

‡ Œuvres Spirituelles.

§ Ps. 138.

eternal things. The human spirit, by the desire of eternal things alleviated, and incited, and prepared to walk, enters upon the journey—first by intending one eternal thing, attending to one eternal thing, proceeding to one eternal thing, persisting in one eternal thing, on account of one eternal thing, which is the one thing necessary, consummating the multitude of all desires, and concentrating them in one, which shall not be taken from it for ever. The rational way of intention must precede other ways; for all the greatest works are done in vain, if the intention of the heart should be turned aside from the rectitude of eternity. The intention is properly and principally the act of the will formed by grace, effective and freely ordained, and moving to the end and directed by reason*." Henry of Ghent contends that conscience is not in the understanding but in the will—being a deliberative election in the will, conformable to the dictate of right reason. But if we turn our backs to the lustrous centre which faith here opens, how different is the prospect while surveying human actions! "There is an intention perverse and wicked," says St. Bonaventura, "as that which proceeds from the will carnally affected, or from carnal love tending to an end which is contrary to the last and eternal end; such is the intention of those who are worldly wise, and obstinate in the love of temporal things. There is again an intention feigned and false, as that which proceeds from the will mendaciously affected, tending to God apparently and falsely, and not truly, as for the sake of men's favour, defiling everything through the turpitude of hypocrisy. There is further a certain oblique and mercenary intention, which proceeds from the will that is affected pusillanimously, tending to God, not on account of God, but on account of the necessaries of the present life, by which it is bent to itself." "Every one," says St. Ephrem, "who walks in these ways wanders from the way of truth, fatiguing himself in pathless places; but he who walks in the right way will come out at last to the mansion of life. Stray not then from the right way, lest perchance you fall among precipices, and come to deserts, and to a multitude of wild beasts, and to the floods of many waters†." "The evil intention," says blessed Ælred, "will creep even into the sanctuary. Vain and impure images will be suffered in the mind,—quasi ebrius in psalmo titubat, in lectione cadit, fluctuat in oratione‡."

"Then come, thou man of earth, and see the way
That never leads the traveiler astray,
But after labors long and sad delay
Brings them to joyous rest and endless blis."

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* De Sept. Itineribus, &c.

† Paræneses ad Monach. 40.

‡ Reg. B. Ælredi IV.

But let us now hear St. Bonaventura, describing the good intentions that can sway the soul, and distinguishing the best. "There is then," he says, "a right intention, which is on account of God principally, and on account of Him directed to good works, proceeding from the will affected spiritually, and warmed by the heat of divine love. There is an intention, right, simple, and more immediate and sweetly attracted by the odour of the eternal end, proceeding from the will experimentally affected; and this is that of contemplatists, which does not walk but which runs after the odour of the ointment, tending to God on account of God immediately, but yet seeking to be delighted and consoled, and therefore not absolutely one and undivided. There is, in fine, an intention, immediate, simple, and deified, totally attracted by the love of the eternal end, and this is that of the blessed in their country *. What then," he continues, "are the signs of a right intention? Some are exterior—quoad homines; and some are interior—quoad conscientiam. The first is the detestation of human praise. The second is a sober sadness and exultation of mind, as when fasting with cheerfulness. The third is the order of correction, as when you begin with yourself and then correct others. The fourth is the benignity of compassion, not imposing burdens on others. The fifth is immobility of mind, in adverse as in prosperous things. The interior signs are two,—namely, charity and truth: the first suffers not that it should cease before the end; the latter, that it should not err as to the end. Uniformis est vita Christiana, ad unam tendens intentionem, scilicet gloriam Dei: multiformis vero et varia est vita eorum quæ deforis sunt, pro libitu suo variata †." The rule is as simple, therefore, as the intention is to be. "The life of the Saviour," says Antonio de Escobar, "is the erudition of the faithful ‡." "The great practical book," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "which God gives to us is the Word incarnate, in which is represented the whole spiritual and Christian life, that in it we may read charity, penitence, humility, meekness, chastity, contempt of the world, and other virtues. This is the book of the just—their manual ever before their eyes §." This is the intention, this the rule of the Catholic, "qui solidam laudem veramque quærat;" and who consequently is never placed in the predicament described by Socrates, when he replied to one who asked which choice he should make of life,—that whatever it might be, he would be sorry for it, "utrum eorum fecisset, acturum pœnitentiam;" for the motive once laid in purity, and the actions squared by the rule of faith, all must then be well, so that whatever his choice might be, he would have reason to

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* De Sept. Itin.

† De Sept. Itin. c. iv.

‡ In Evang. Com. vol. vi. 237.

§ De Nat. Virg. M. Con. II.

rejoice, and pursue his avocations with most sweet contentment—"Hæc sunt enim præcepta vitalia," as St. Pachomius says, "quæ acceperunt sancti, ut versarentur in eis, ut nihil aliud cogitarent, ut facerent opera digna immortalitate *."

Men pursuing this road of active life have to jostle with the crowd every step. "Now the custom of having to do with the people," says Plutarch, "causes us to adopt the passions of the vulgar. One can only avoid their influence by a constant attention to one's self †;" but Catholic truth, by proposing God as the object, saying, "Beatus vir, cujus est nomen Domini spes ejus ; et non respexit in vanitates et insanias falsas ‡," will render even that intercourse secure; for then all is conducive to men's advancement on the road of Heaven. "Be not drunken," says St. Augustin, "and you have praised God. Rise up in the morning to do no evil, and you have praised God. Engage in trade so as to commit no fraud, and you have praised God. Engage in agriculture, bring no actions at law, and you have praised God. Thus may you praise God all the day long §." Catholicism therefore attracts by its immortal encouragement, proclaiming that even on this beaten road of practical life all may overcome and obtain the prize of immortality with the perfect; whereas, if we turn from this centre, we meet only complaining wanderers, lamenting their own errors with the poet, saying to his sister—

"Had I but sooner learnt the crowd to shun,
I had been better than I now can be;
The passions which have torn me would have slept,
I had not suffer'd, and thou hadst not wept.
Surely I once beheld a nobler aim,
But all is o'er—I am one the more
To baffled millions which have gone before."

True, Catholicism shows, as St. Augustin says, "quid distet inter Christianos dilectores mundi hujus, et contemptores, quamvis fideles utrique dicantur—though both are baptized, both consecrated, and hearers of the same Gospel ‖." But it shows also that the latter may follow the road that we are treading now without compromising their eternal interests; for no administration of affairs creates necessarily an obstacle to hinder their spiritual advance; since, as St. Catherine of Sienna said, "things are only temporal when we render them such; for all comes from God." We may remark, that Catholicity

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* Epist. S. Pachomii ap. Luc. Holstein. Codex Reg. iii.

† In Vit. Cicer.

‡ Ps. 39.

§ S. Aug. in Ps. 34.

‖ Epist. xlv

even contrives that the temporal objects familiar in the life of action should bear the stamp of thoughts centering in eternity. The lead of Cornwall is marked with the Lamb of God. The ship of the merchant bears the name of a saint, or of a religious mystery. The town itself is called after some friend of God, instead of being stupidly named, like modern places in England and America, New Brighton or Kingstown, after the manner of the unpoetical Carthaginians, who invented the name of Lilybæum for a town in Sicily, which, according to Bochart, signifies nothing but Le Lubi, or a place opposite to Libya. In the reign of Edward III. the staple of wool was appointed to be kept only at Canterbury, for the honour of St. Thomas. "In 1201," says Jocelin of Brakelond, monk of St. Edmondsbury, "there came to us the abbot of Flaix, and through his preaching caused the open buying and selling which took place in the market on Sundays to be done away with, and it was ordained that the market should be held on the second feria. The like the abbot brought to pass in many cities and boroughs of England." The market-town and day could thus recal the name and preaching of the saint, and the fair his anniversary; and thus all paths of active life were conversant with holy memories. "To this day Lutheran Germany by the names of its great commercial fairs proclaims, without knowing it, that for the founders of these assemblies the celebration of the holy Catholic sacrifice was the true signal, and, as it were, the only legal opening of even a mercantile or agricultural gathering *." An old hermit once asked an aged abbot, a great friend of the abbot Anthony, what was a good work for him to perform; and he replied, "The Scripture says, Abraham was hospitable, and God was with him; and Helias loved rest, and God was with him; and David was humble, and God was with him †." Thus all the shapes of the grand scenery shift like restless clouds, each golden and beautiful, before the stedfast sun; for though man in his fallen state appears composed of opposite and discordant wheels, he may proceed in reality towards harmony, since all these voices, named tastes, passions, and ideas, which seem to contradict each other, are intended to work together ‡. The road of practical life reveals the pre-eminence of Catholicity also by reason of the many happy results which are obtained in consequence of being guided by it, intellectually as well as morally, in all the details of action. "For it renders our interior," as St. Paulinus says, "like the owl in the dwelling, having eyes that can discern clearly through the darkness of this world, to which this night

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* Les PP. Cahier et Martin, Mélanges d'Archéologie, 75.

† Pelagius Diaconus De Vita SS. Patrum, c. i.

‡ Études sur les Idées et sur leur Union, &c. ii. 160

then shines as the day *." Tiberius, as Suetonius says, could see in the dark; and the same faculty is granted by faith to those who are wandering through the sombre forest of life, enabling them to discern the true nature and relation of all things concerned with action and duty; as when the labourer, on hearing the warlike state of the Archbishop of Cologne explained to him, on the ground of the ducal rank of the prelate, replied by that piercing question—"If this duke, which you say you are, should come to be in hell, where then would be the archbishop that we knew you to be?" Therefore it enables men to detect the snares of the demon spread to intercept them, admonishing men in words like those addressed to Solomon in the curious mediæval work entitled "Procès entre Bélial et Jésus," where Moses says to the judge, "Je vous supplye que ne vueilles regarder es décevables parolles ne es flateries du décevable Bélial; car dehors il porte miel en parolles et dedans il est plein de venin. De quoy il est escript, Fel Drachonum vinum eorum, et venenum aspidum insanabile. Il mist guerre au ciel et en paradis terrestre tromperie, entre les premiers frères hayne, et en tout nostre temps sème zizanies. Car en mengeant il mect gloutonie, en repolz paresse, en conversation envie, en seigneurie orgueil †." Some will therefore be directed from such considerations to Catholicity, although the bustling world may still rudely hold on its selfish course, and, blind amidst radious illuminations, see nothing that it ought most to see. Catholicity again supplies the art of profiting by the occasions of virtue presented on the road of active life, and thereby wins the soul of those who travel on it; for it teaches, that "if we attend diligently, we shall find that there is never wanting occasion of acting well, or of enduring something with merit; but that for this we must watch as a fisherman at his hook, as a fowler at his net, as a huntsman at his dog, as a sailor and husbandman at the wind and sky, or as a robber at those whom he intends to make his prey ‡." By means of this art the man of business becomes the man of heaven. Antonio de Escobar thus shows in minute detail how strictly the eight beatitudes were pourtrayed in the whole life and character of St. Martin §; and so in every profession the Catholic is guided in each minute action best, and prompted not by love of fame, "that last infirmity of noble mind," but by the love of God, "to scorn delights and live laborious days."

But let us observe the attraction of the Church on the road of active life, resulting from the practical character of the rules

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* Div. Paulini Epist. xxvi. † 25.

‡ Occasio arrepta neglecta, vii. 7.

§ In Evang. Com. tom. vi. 218.

which Catholicity supplies, teaching men to turn their sad necessity to glorious gain. Some of its lessons possess this attribute from being favourable even to the commonest views of industry, as in the religious books which treat on examination of defects, in which occur the counsels—De tempore malè expenso; and in those which exemplify the saying of brother Giles, "Si vincis teipsum, vinces omnes inimicos tuos;" and in the advice they always give to place each man not alone, where he can be most useful, as if in the very words of Diomede,—

> *χρὴ δ' ἄνδρα τάσσειν οὗ μάλιστ' ἂν ὠφελῇ*[*],—

but also kindly and affectionately, wherever the particular genius of each person points—

> *Ἄλλος γάρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιτέρπεται ἔργοις*[†].

It has other rules in this way, practical as being opposed to the contrary maxims of that worldly wisdom, which men in action are often pressed to adopt, though feeling them naturally repulsive; for Catholicity attracts the soul even when it says with brother Giles, "Quando quis contendit tecum, si vis vincere perde. Via ergo salvationis est via perditionis;" for though Menelaus says, "That for each man to obtain what he wishes is more than to take Troy,"—

> *εὖ δ' ἴσθ', ὅτου τις τυγχάνει χρείαν ἔχων,*
> *τοῦτ' ἔσθ' ἑκάστῳ μεῖζον ἢ Τροίαν ἑλεῖν*[‡],

there are other chords that can be awakened in the human mind than the Gentile poet takes into account; and therefore brother Giles, even in regard to temporal results, might well say, "It is better to bear a grievous injury without murmuring, than to feed daily a hundred poor."—Circuibo civitatem in foro et in plateis, et quæram quem dilexit anima mea. The human soul seeks what the world can never give; it seeks him who is the way. "But let us not seek Christ," adds St. Ambrose, "where we cannot find Him, for Christ is not about the forum; Christ is peace, in the forum is litigation; Christ is justice, in the forum is iniquity; Christ is charity, in the forum is slander; Christ is faith, in the forum is fraud and perfidy[§]." Other Catholic rules attract by destroying those roots of misery, which consist in selfishness and prosaic dulness. Demetrius Phalereus was honoured with more than three hundred and sixty bronze statues of himself at Athens; but the Catholic, whom such results would never

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[*] Rhesus, 626.

[†] xiv. 228.

[‡] Androm. 368.

[§] S. Ambrose, Lib. de Virg.

satisfy, repeats the words of a philosopher, "Omnis honos, omnis admiratio, omne studium ad virtutem et ad eas actiones quæ virtuti sunt consentaneæ refertur[*]." Consoling his friend, Ludovicus Santius, on the death of his father, a Spanish historian says, "Ever on his lips were these holy words:—Omnibus prodesse volo; nullis obesse[†]." Such is the rule of Catholic practice in every condition of the active life; proclaiming with Plato, that the institution of merchants in a city is not to injure the citizens, but the contrary, *οὐ βλάβης ἕνεκα, τόγε κατὰ φύσιν, πᾶν δὲ τοὐναντίον*[‡]. Literally indeed the monastic rule, which says —meum vel tuum dixisse, sex plagis[§]—may be inapplicable upon this road, but its spirit is obligatory on all, whatever may be their state; and he knows little of the human heart who thinks that lessons of generosity, even on the road of common industry or other business, have no attractive power for mankind. True, there are other lessons heard upon this road, which the world thinks its own. "Silence, my son," says one; "the heart must not be consulted when we wish to push our fortunes." But the voice of the Catholic Church will, sooner or later, win more favour than such admonitions, as when Don Antonio de Guevara says, "I implore high princes and great lords; I admonish all, nobles and plebeians, to remember these words and commit them to memory. I say then and affirm, that men in keeping close their money, keep prisoners rather themselves; for if they put two keys to their treasure, they put seven on their hearts. Let brave men beware of such baseness as the desire of accumulating money; for, if their hearts be once set upon making it, they will every day fall into a thousand acts of meanness, which bring with them a bitter retribution[||]." Even the very interests that are thought at variance with such lessons, are shown by the old Catholic writers to require observance of them. "Not long since," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "a certain woman inhabiting a town, where our abbots used to lodge when travelling to the general chapter, received many of them in her hospice for the sake of gain. Perceiving that she was blessed by their presence, she gave them at first hay for nothing, then corn gratis, and the more she gave the more she had; and when her hospice was become very rich by their prayers and merits, she began to fear for the future, saying to herself, You cannot long endure such expense: draw in your hand, lest you incur poverty. Strange to say, as soon as she began to withdraw her former bounties, the Lord withdrew his hand from her. Then, returning to her-

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[*] Cic. de Finibus, lib. v. 21.

[†] Marin. Sicul. Epist.

[‡] De Legibus, lib. xi.

[§] Reg. S. Columbani Pœnitentialis X. ap. Luc. Holstein. Cod. Reg.

[||] L'Horloge des Princes, lib. iii. 1174.

self, she became penitent, and, resuming her former works, she a second time began to grow rich*." Catholicity again allures upon this road, by preventing the joyful visions of early life from being wholly obscured amidst the multiplicity of secular cares; for it forms the generous spirit that a poet so much admires, "who, when brought among the tasks of real life, still works upon the plan that pleased his childish thought, whose high endeavours are an inward light, that makes the path before him always grateful;" for faith plays in the many games of life, that one where what he most doth value must be won. The man of secular affairs, without this influence, may scorn such considerations as boyish and too poetical for him. Certainly I should never think of representing him as Alonso Cano is painted by himself, with a bee at his ear. "No grandeur now in nature or in book delights us," says a poet; "rapine, avarice, expense, this is idolatry, and these we adore." Such practical men would re-echo, without perceiving its absurdity, the complaint of Seneca, saying, "Count your years, and you will be ashamed to find that you wish the same things as when a boy†." Alas! it were well for them if they did so. But Catholicity has the secret of uniting things that seem by nature incompatible. Those young men, trained to piety from early days in Catholic schools, now engaged in active life on roads that seem to lead the farthest from all sanctity, the engineer, the clerk in public offices, the merchant's assistant, or even the apprenticed servant waiting to serve his master's customers, are often noted for that purity of feature, that calm nobleness of look and manner, presenting such a contrast to the busy, unquiet, and suspicious glances, which the bustling unbelieving northmen dart on every side, that air of loving and pensive melancholy which recal primitive races, and scenes, and times when discourse was never confined to traffic, and the means, as Plutarch says, of making a fortune, and seem to indicate that the noble soul has not been spoiled by earthly influences, that neither affection nor imagination has been destroyed by their drudgery, that they have still a recollection of the images and truths that shed a golden light upon their life's morning. And most probably such is the fact; for their pathway still, in consequence of these Catholic impressions, may be said to lead through a field which, if to the north, by a hoar wood shadowed over—to the east and west is open to the sky. That countenance, therefore, tells truth in affirming that a nature still exists in them and about them, which can be moved by other impulses than the world has at its command; a nature which, like that of Mecænas, seeks not such triumphs as attract the vulgar, but which, while faithful

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* iv. 69.

† Epist. i. 27.

to its allotted occupation as its due penalty, would prefer the shade of the forest and the Muse,—

> "Maluit umbrosam quercum, nymphasque canoras."

Suppose some friar to pass by and direct to equity and grace, to heaven and eternity, opposing interest or ambition, not by long arguments to refute with reason, but by a song to touch the heart, as when the two friars before ministers of state at variance contented themselves with singing—Lodato se mio signore, and the rest of that song of the sun: well, this is what can move them. You will not believe that such sounds could find a listening ear on such beats? Yet facts are against you; for we know that when these friars had begun to sing so as St. Francis had commissioned them, the podesta of a city with joined palms heard them reverently, and then prostrated himself on the ground before the bishop, whom he had long resisted. Thus does Catholicity train the busiest man to receive truth, passing as it were by in the music of the street, in the holy wayfarer, in the odour of the flower, in the breeze from heaven. Protestantism and infidelity, in the form of the modern industry, has not such avenues. The blind man sat by the way side as Jesus passed. "Oh! how many blind at the present day," exclaims St. Thomas of Villanova, as if he rather prophesied, "who are deprived of the light of knowledge, and who sit amidst the defilement of sins while Jesus passes by, that is, the time of salvation,—ecce nunc dies salutis! the moment of salvation passes, and they hear not and see not. Unhappy sinner! hear the passing creatures, for they will declare to thee—hear the Creator passing in them, and leaving in them the vestiges of his divinity*." Catholicity, hostile to proud hardened self-sufficiency, effects the man of public action, as philosophy or a happy nature influenced Cicero, who never came forth to plead before the public without feeling fear, so that he had great difficulty to prevent himself from trembling†. It refers men thus anxious to God, as the judge, the protector, and the ruler in their temporal affairs,—"quia non est hominis via ejus, nec viri est ut ambulet et dirigat gressus suos." Would you see proof? All worldly prosperity or fall is witness to you; for, as St. Bernard remarks, it cries, "I fail. Its ruins are its voices." You can find it on the tombs that were made to utter a voice of Catholic admonition. Had you formerly entered the convent of the Mathurins in Paris, which contained so many ancient sepulchres, amongst others you would have found one on which was a picture representing a tree with a broken branch torn off, and a man, who holds it falling and uttering these words,—

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* Serm. Dom. in Quinq.

† Pro Cluentio, 18.

"Mon vouloir estoit de monter
A honneur par labeur, et soin,
Mais fortune na peu arter;
Et met le pied grille bien loing,
Et la branche qu'avois au poing,
C'est éclatée tout soudain
Peu trouve d'amis au besoing
Qui n'est ruse, fin, et mondain *."

The lowest as well as the highest station familiarizes men with a sense of danger, and these lessons are not lost upon Catholics who follow the ways of active industry. Look at that admirable painting, by Leopold Roberts, of the Fishermen of the Adriatic. Mark that youth, so nobly disdainful of all danger and of all hardship; that aged matron casting a timid glance upon the vast sea, obscured by evening clouds, to which she is about to commit her boy; and see the anxious look of those young sisters who come to take their leave of him: but does not a tear steal into the eye when you discover the little tottering child charged with carrying the picture of the blessed Virgin to be placed in the boat, though the English engraver, whose blindness in this respect might have been noticed as significative on the road of artists, has substituted for it an unmeaning board? and are you not attracted by the Catholic symbol of reliance on the protection of our Lord invoked through blessed Mary by the laborious followers of a dangerous industry? St. Hugues of Lincoln having been troubled one night thinking about some difficult business, felt compunction in the morning, and made his confession, saying, that he had sinned in not casting all his cares upon God, and in being troubled and anxious as if he trusted in his own inventions †. Catholicism repeats the great ancient lesson of the Pindaric muse, saying, A sudden fortune appears to the vulgar as the fruit of genius; but this is not in the power of mortals, God only dispenses to some, and withdraws from others,—

——— *εἰ γάρ τις ἐσλὰ πέπαται*
μὴ σὺν μακρῷ πόνῳ, πολλοῖς σοφὸς
δοκεῖ πεδ' ἀφρόνων
βίον κορυσσέμεν ὀρθοβούλοι-
σι μαχαναῖς. Τὰ *δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἄνδρασι κεῖται·*
δαίμων δὲ παρίσχει,
ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὕπερθε βάλλων.
ἄλλον δ' ὑπὸ χειρῶν
μέτρῳ καταβαίνει ‡.

Above all, Catholicity directs men even in attending to the

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* Baron Annales, Ord. S. Trin. pro Redempt. Captiv. 76.

† Ant. d' Averoult Catéchisme Historial, i. 154.

‡ Pyth. 8.

cares of this life to fix their regards daily upon the interests of the next, and so enables them to verify, in a two-fold sense, the grand, but otherwise desponding words of the same poet, that the most prosperous fortune only leads to our last end,—

*περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον πλόον**.

For, according to the Catholic religion, all schemes, employments, apprenticeships, advancements, joys, or sorrows must be subordinate to this last voyage, to this ultimate fortune, to this superlative success. Remove the influence of faith, and what is then human industry?—

"The aim of all is but to nurse the life
With honour, wealth, and ease in waning age:
And in this aim there is such thwarting strife
That one for all, or all for one we gaze:
As life for honour in fell battles rage,
Honour for wealth, and oft that wealth dost cost
The death of all, and altogether lost."

The merchant and the senator, the peasant and the king, if amerced of faith, and left without the supernal object which can sanctify and guide the active life, wanders thus unprofitably. Spenser seems to describe each of them in the lines,—

"He could no path nor tract of foot descry,
Ne by inquirie learne, nor ghesse by ayme;
For nought but woods and forrests farre and nye,
That all about did close the compasse of his eye.
Much was he then encombred, ne could tell
Which way to take: now west he went awhile,
Then north, then neither, but as fortune fell;
So up and downe he wandered many a mile
With wearie travell and uncertain toile,
Yet nought the nearer to his journey's end."

To men thus lost the voice of Catholicity comes like the bell of the convent in a forest, enabling men to ascertain their own position in regard to the rest they seek. "Turn not," it says in the words of St. Anthony of Padua, "to the right and left, but have the face of one going to Jerusalem—Noli te vertere, sed habe faciem euntis in Hierusalem †." The hymn of the Church on the second feria at vespers sounds thus in the sombre tangled wood of life as a voice which can direct and save,—

"Lucem fides adaugeat,
Sic luminis jubar ferat,
Hæc vana cuncta proterat,
Hanc falsa nulla comprimant."

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* Pyth. 10.

† St. Ant. de Padua, Serm. Dom. xvii. post Trin.

"For then as surely as the human spirit," to use St. Bonaventura's words, "from being loaded by the inordinate love of temporal descends from eternal things, by seven journeys of iniquity, downward to temporal things, so the human spirit, attenuated by the ordinate love of eternal things, ascends by seven journeys of right equity to eternal things." The journeys leading upwards are no longer unknown to those conversant with the road we tread; for on each of these God supplies all men with special assistance; though these journeys are hidden from the wise and prudent of this world, while revealed to babes, that is, to the humble. Wherefore Habacuc says, "Incurvati sunt colles mundi, id est, sapientes, ab itineribus æternitatis ejus," that is, they are turned aside from the straight ways of the eternal God; for they who decline from the straight way remove only the farther from the end of that way; and the more the wise of the world depart from eternal truth, the more they become evanescent in their folly, in temporal things, saying, "Sol intelligentiæ non est ortus nobis; lassati sumus in via iniquitatis, viam Domini ignoravimus *." The views of faith change all things on the road of practical life by sanctifying and directing all employments and discoveries to a supernatural end. Pulci's prophecy is then fulfilled. "A great many things are done in the world of which men formerly had no conception, and people are inclined to believe them works of the devil; when, in fact, they are very good works, and contribute to angelical effects, whether the devil be forced to have a hand in them or not; for evil itself can work only in subordination to good." These inventions of the world, which seem only designed for its own interests falsely understood, may serve the Church and enable her to win generations back unto herself; for, as a recent author says, "the world's most independent toil is that of a dishonest and blind trustee, ever overreaching himself, and the fruit of whose speculations flows at last into the coffers of his ward." It is with such views that Catholicity permits and invites men to pursue this road of industry, distinguishing riches from their love, citing the words, Qui volunt in hoc mundo divites fieri, incidunt in laqueos diaboli; and adding St. Bruno's comment on them, "Behold, he saith, qui volunt, not qui sunt; showing that cupidity, not wealth, is damnable; for men can be rich and good if they obey the rule, Divitiæ si affluant, nolite cor apponere †." And who must not perceive that the attraction of all things thus transformed is multiplied a hundredfold? Where faith is paramount, whether the road turn to common industry or to the higher administrations of the state, all labours are alleviated, ennobled, sweetened. Men

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* De Sept. Itin. D. 17.

† S. Bruno, De Imitando Christo.

learn, then, betimes to measure life and "know towards sol good what leads the nearest way." To be delivered from t slavery of those who now complain that it is seriously injurin their prospects in life to raise a suspicion in the public that th write in favour of the Catholic religion, to be able to act—

> "Onely for honour and for high regard,
> Without respect of richesse or reward,"—

such are the privileges conferred by faith on those who are following this road of practical life; and base must be the heart they do not win. O man of cares and bitterness, so fearful and covetous of all earthly things, "What aileth thee," as Dante asks, "that still thou lookest to earth?" "Happy," says St. Augustin, "he cannot be called who has not what he loves, whatever it may be, nor he who has what he loves if it be noxious; nor he who does not love what he has if it be the best of objects; for he who seeks and cannot find is tortured, and he who obtains what ought not to be desired is deceived; and he who does not desire what ought to be desired is diseased [*]." Such is the alternative to which men reduce themselves when they turn from the central glory that invites them forward. "We see men," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "apt, ingenious, full of talent and of great judgment, who, by the engagements of riches and commerce, lose all that aptitude. They hear with joy while they are in the church, but immediately on leaving it, the word which they have received is choked with the thorns of worldly cares [†]." Ecce, ascendimus Hierosolymam. Whither do these hasten? O deplorable indifference! "I cannot reflect on it," he adds, "without speechless amazement. How fervent and active to worldly gains! how cold and insensible to eternal things! Whence this difference? From incredulity? No: we believe, and have no doubt. From distrust? No: for though evil, we hope and trust through the merits and passion of Christ to come to that glory. Whence, then, this contempt? Is it because in the carnal heart there can be no impression, or that we are not citizens of Jerusalem, and therefore cannot incline naturally to it, since the citizen of Babylon can have no pleasure in hearing the songs of Sion [‡]?"—

> "Heu! quid agat? vario nequicquam fluctuat æstu,
> Diversæque vocant animum in contraria curæ [§]."

Thus is the busy self-sufficient man involved in endless contradictions amerced of all true high enjoyment, though even by his bewildered course bearing witness to the force of the attrac-

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[*] De Mor. Eccl. c. 3.

[†] In Dom. Sex.

[‡] Id. Dom. in Quinq.

[§] Æn. xii. 485.

tion which he resists; for it is still the same force which moves him as it is the same flood which forms the stream and the back current; since, as St. Bonaventura says, "Tanta est vis summi boni, ut nihil nisi per illius desiderium à creatura possit amari. Quæ tunc fallitur et errat, cum effigiem et simulacrum pro veritate acceptat*." "When man then arrives at possessing the object of his mistaken love, he feels, after all, his success disappointed. Secretly, he says to himself, that he has missed his way. He expected a boundless career: and all of a sudden he feels the wings of his passion fall languishingly as if the air was no longer able to support him; and yet fugitive and deceitful as he finds was its object, he regrets the error, so admirable was the idea which he had formed of reality†." But all men thus lost, without excepting the Gentiles, acknowledge the insufficiency of their success, and therefore Livy says of Tarquinius Priscus, that the same ambition which he had in seeking followed him in wearing the crown‡; and Cicero addresses Cæsar in words that would suit the Christian school: "Quidquid enim est," he says, "quamvis amplum sit, id certe parum est tum, quum est aliquid amplius.—Quid est enim omnino hoc ipsum diu, in quo est aliquid extremum; quod quum venit, omnis voluptas præterita pro nihilo est, quia postea nulla futura est? Quamquam iste tuus animus numquam his angustiis, quas natura nobis ad vivendum dedit, contentus fuit, semperque immortalitatis amore flagravit§." "In the Samaritan woman," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "we have a certain form and image of the worldly life, oppressed with cares, incessantly occupied with labour and anxiety, seeking the satisfaction of selfwill: some trying to quench their thirst in riches, others in honours, others in pleasures; but still they burn with a rabid and insatiable thirst. But, O wretched souls, why are you thus consumed? Do you not know that these sources can never satisfy you? This water is not drink for souls. What have you to do with riches, and money, and pleasure? This is the great error of men, that consisting as they do of soul and body, they neglect their nobler soul to apply all their pains in providing for the inferior part of themselves. Consult your own experience. You have laboured long to obtain such and such a place or dignity: you succeed, and then, before the end of a year, or month, perhaps, you have to begin again; for you count as nothing what you have obtained. You saw a beautiful farm. You bought it at a great price. You were pleased at first; but very soon after, it lost all charms in your eyes." St. Bernard describes the vanity of

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* Itinerarium Mentis in Deum, c. 3.

† Etudes sur les Idées et sur leur Union, &c. 65.

‡ Lib. i. c. 35.

§ Pro Marcello.

all such pursuits, saying, "I have seen five sorts of men wh seemed to be insane: the first were masticating dry sand; t second standing over a sulphureous lake, inhaling that fe vapour; the third stooping over a furnace, endeavouring t receive into their mouths the sparks; the fourth seated on the pinnacle of a temple, opening their mouths to the wind, as if hoping to swallow the whole air; the fifth, remaining apart laughing at the others, while endeavouring to suck the blood from their own hands and arms: these were the avaricious, the libidinous, the passionate, and wrathful, the proud who feed o wind, and the envious*." Catholicity then attracts by preventing men from losing sight of the supreme object which should direct their steps, and proclaiming, as St. Gregory Nysse says, that the present life is intended to have an object,—ὁδὸς γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἐλπιζόμενον ὁ παρὼν γίνεται βίος†: not, indeed, such as the immediate end that seems to be proposed upon the road of practical men, since, as Lopez de Vega says, "happiness is neither in life, nor in honours, nor in riches; and those who hope to find it in gold seek it where least of all it can be found;" even though it may be true, as Plato remarks, "that those who make their fortune are more attached to their riches than those who merely inherit them, for owing them to their own industry, they doubly love them as their own work, in the same manner as poets love their verses‡,"—but a supreme, ultimate interior, or if you will, mystic object which death itself cannot intercept, and which contains the source and principle of all attraction for the human heart, as St. Augustin says. "Tolle hoc bonum, tolle illud, et considera bonum in se, si potes, et illud est summum bonum, in quod tendimus." This is what supports the Catholic busy practical man on his journey through the most arid and entangled region of life's vast forest; and is it possible for others to observe his constancy, and the refreshment, and the renovations awaiting him at every stage, without beholding the truth of that religion which yields such supernatural benefit? What is there worthy of being compared with the value of such direction? can it be any of the ordinary immediate objects of a practical life? to realize a fortune, to be at the head of our profession; to obtain the highest advancement? Place Catholicism in the opposite scale with any or all of these together; and as Cicero says of the amplitude of virtue, you will seem to have done nothing towards moving it.—"Terram, mihi crede, ea lanx et maria deprimet§." The divine truth of Catholicity is thus seen in the mere fact of its practically furnishing each man with the best, or rather with

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* S. Thom. à Vill. Serm. Fer. vi. post 3. Dom. Quod.

† De Mortuis. ‡ De Repub. i. § De Finibus, lib. v. 30.

the only secure guidance on the road of active life, and by observing the supernatural power with which it is able to impress upon the mind those inspired words of the midnight mass at Christmas,—"Charissime: apparuit gratia Dei Salvatoris nostri omnibus hominibus, erudiens nos, ut abnegantes impietatem et sæcularia desideria, sobriè, et justè, et piè vivamus in hoc sæculo, expectantes beatam spem et adventum gloriæ magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi."

In fine, we come to the last avenue on this road, in which we are to observe that Catholicity moderates without thereby endangering the security of states, as some politicians fear, the impulses that move men in the practical life, not by vague malicious declamation against riches, but by purifying the eyes of the mind, so that they can estimate all things according to their true value. The scenery is still the same on this last stage; for all that we have already passed bespoke the assuaging, moderating influence of Catholicism in regard to the principle that impels those who frequent this road. By providing other hopes, other motives, it weans men from immoderate industry, and, at the same time, prevents their activity from impelling them towards other ways of death: it enforces this great lesson, that there are two loves, as St. Leo says, from which all wills proceed, as different in qualities as they are divided by their authors,—that the rational soul which cannot be without love must be a lover either of God or of the world; that in the love of God there can be no excess; but that in the love of the world all things are noxious,—"et ideo æternis bonis inseparabiliter est inhærendum, temporalibus vero transeunter utendum est; ut peregrinantibus nobis et ad patriam redire properantibus, quicquid de prosperitatibus mundi hujus occurrerit, viaticum sit itineris, non illecebra mansionis *."

"Money," says Columbus, in the drama of Lopez de Vega, "is the essential thing. Money is the intelligence, the force, the address, the surest helper and the best friend of man." Columbus had in view its use and application by Catholic men docile to the inspirations of the Church. But that estimate was combined in his mind with acquiescence in her great lessons, that "the hope of acquiring temporal things is the poison of charity;" and as St. Augustin says, "that the diminution of cupidity is the nourishment of charity—that the internal signs of charity are profound and intimate sighs of the mind,—lofty desires, thoughts languid in regard to worldly things—higher expectations, and ecstatic affections."

At this point of the forest fearful torrents, swollen by the snows of distant hills, rage here by our path. "The river of the

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* S. Leo Magn. De Jejun. Sept. Mens. Serm. v. ap. Do.

devil," says the abbot Joachim, "which is pride, flows into the river of avarice, which falls into that of luxury. Avarice flows sometimes like a fountain—at others like a torrent, at others like a river—one time rising up, another rushing onwards, another extending itself far and wide. "Tu dirupisti fontes et torrentes; Tu siccasti fluvios*." These words can be addressed to the Catholic Church. She makes this road safe, by moderating the rage of these waters, by purifying the fountain, and by turning the stream in a salutary direction. The old road, indeed, has only victims to offer for guides; she points at him who followed it to his destruction—

> "Auxiliumque viæ veteres tellure recludit
> Thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri †."

She shows us some one like that Hugo of Durham, "homo in terrenis disponendis prudentissimus, et sine multis litteris eloquentissimus, pecuniarum sitientissimus, earumque scientissimus quærendarum," who built many castles and other edifices; "qui plus studuit ædificare in terra, eo remissius ædificare curavit in cœlo ‡," and who has been, by the unavoidable destiny of avoided grace,

> ——— "headlong sent,
> With his industrious crew, to build in hell."

She shows us another, like Rupert, abbot of Reichnau, in 1071, branded with the epithet of "Nummularius," for having loved money §; or like Celsus, under king Guntchrannus, "a man of lofty stature and of great strength, swelling in words, opportune in replies, skilled in the reading of law, so covetous that he often seizes the goods of the churches to join them to his own, who when once he heard the prophet Isaiah read in the church, saying, Væ his qui jungunt domum ad domum, et agrum ad agrum, is said to have exclaimed, 'Incongrue hoc væ mihi et filiis meis ‖.'" To unfold the malice that lies at the bottom of such minds, she here refers us to those writers, who, like Cæsarius, have disclosed their miserable aberrations. "Bertolph, duke of Zeringia," says that author, "though without children, through avarice had amassed great riches. When about to die, he desired his familiars to melt down all his treasures into one mass; and being asked why he wished it so, he answered, 'I know that my relations, rejoicing at my death, would divide my treasures, but if they are all in one mass, they will kill each other to gain it.' See what malice! This was told me by two abbots, one of

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* Abbot Joachim super Hierem. xvi. † Æn. i. 358.

‡ Guillet. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. lib. v. c. 8.

§ Gab. Bucelinus Chronologia Constantiensis.

‖ Greg. Turonens. Hist. iv. 24.

whom was from the duchy of Zeringia*." But she shows us also the same men, sometimes moved by her great voice to retrace their steps, penitent and changed; for, as a French author observes, "these rapid fortunes, so contrary to the prescriptions of the Gospel, gave rise to great repentance, and to pious foundations of all kinds. Thus the chapel of St. Agnes, in Paris, which became the parish church of St. Eustache, was founded in expiation of the great fortune made by Jean Alais, citizen of Paris, who first established the tax of a denier on each basket of fish brought to the halles. The popular tradition also relates, that he desired his body to be thrown into a sewer which received all the filth of the markets; the aperture at the bottom of the streets Montmartre and Traince being covered with a great stone, which was called Le Pont-Alais †." "A certain great statesman," says the Baron de Prelle, "who had realized a large fortune, in his last illness sent for his parish priest, and expressed his resolution to die as a Christian; for which purpose he disclosed the state of his conscience as to the injuries sustained by such a number of persons, that restitution seemed impossible. That sage pastor therefore prescribed alms—26,000 francs to the galley-slaves and prisoners, and 60,000 francs for marriage portions for poor girls ‡." The attraction of Catholicity at this point would have been felt by the ancients, if sincere in their professions while estimating human evils; for hear the poet—

"Ergo sollicitæ tu causa, pecunia, vitæ es:
Per te immaturum mortis adimus iter.
Tu vitiis hominum crudelia pabula præbes,
Semina curarum de capite orta tuo §;"

or the philosopher, saying, "The chief cause of murder and such crimes is cupidity and violent desires, as in those who are possessed by an excessive love for riches, which engender in their hearts a crowd of insatiable desires, which have their source in their character and a bad education. This bad education is to be ascribed to the false notions about riches entertained by the Greeks or barbarians, for by preferring them to other good they degrade themselves and their descendants. Nothing would be better for the state than if it held a language concerning riches conformable to truth, namely, that they are made for the sake of the body, and that the body is made for the sake of the soul ||." The Church not alone accepts and ratifies these judg-

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* lib. xii. c. 13.

† Le Roux de Lincy, Les Femmes célébres de l'ancienne France, i. 532.

‡ Considérations sur la Vieillesse dans la Vie Chrést. politique, &c. 126.

§ Propertius.

|| Plat. de Legibus, lib. ix.

ments, and therefore so far stands revealed to those who hear them, but she yields men power supernatural to square their lives in accordance with them, and so wins them by a sense of divinity to herself. Hear how she ratifies the ancient wisdom. "Why so greedy of external goods?" exclaims St. Augustin. "Lo, what advantage to have a full chest and an empty conscience? You wish to have good things, and you do not wish to be good? Do you not perceive that you ought to blush on account of your goods if your house is full of good things and you alone are bad in it? What is there that you wish to have bad? Tell me. Truly, nothing. Not a wife, not a son, not a daughter, not a servant, not a maid, not a farm, not a tunic, no not even a shoe, and yet you wish and have a bad life. I entreat you prefer your life to your shoe. When all things about you are beautiful and good, be not the only thing vile and loathsome there. For this is the only good which you cannot lose against your will. You can lose gold against your will, you can lose a house, honours, life itself, but the good by which you are truly good you can neither receive nor lose against your will*." "O ignis inextinguibilis!" exclaims Pope Innocent III., "cupiditas insatiabilis! quis unquam cupidus primo fuit voto contentus? The more he gains the more he wishes, and his eye is insatiable†. Wherefore can he not be satiated? Dost thou wish to know?" he continues. "O man of cupidity, wherefore thou art always empty—why thou canst never be filled? Attend. A measure cannot be full, which however much it may hold, can still contain more. But the human mind can contain God, since he who adheres to God is one spirit with Him. However much it may hold it is never full, unless when it contains God, whom it can never hold. Si vis ergo satiari, desinas esse cupidus; quia dum cupidus fueris, satiari non poteris‡. Cur ad congregandum quis instet, quum stare non possit ille qui congregat? Nam quasi flos egreditur et conteritur, et fugit velut umbra et nunquam in eodem statu permanet§. Avaritia est servitus idolorum. Ille timet mutilare simulachrum, et iste timet minuere thesaurum‖. Avarus ad petendum promptus, ad dandum tardus, ad negandum frontosus¶." Such are the high sentences placed along this path by the hand of a sovereign pontiff. Catholicity thus purifies the fountain. Let us observe how it dries up the torrent. Who knows not that the epoch of the false reformers was distinguished by an overflowing of all the noxious and boisterous streams that make perilous the road of active life? A voice here sounds like that which Dante heard

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* De Verb. Dom. Serm. xii.

† De Contemptu Mundi, &c. lib. ii. c. 6.

‡ Id. lib. ii. c. 7.

§ Id. 10.

‖ Id. 12.

¶ Id. 13.

in the region of eternal pains, saying,

> "And if of that securer proof thou need,
> Remember but our craving thirst for gold *."

Since that time the torrents rage, as under the reign of Saturn, when the poet says, "Hardly do I see any one whose heart is not rejoiced by gain:" but there is a cunning sophistical and unhallowed spirit that defies censure, while requiring that every thing should be sacrificed to money; for each of these men who live only to calculate primes, actions, dividends, and whose souls only rise and fall with the funds, has a conscience so sophisticated that he will say with the clown in Shakspear, "But I would not have you to think that my desire of having is the sin of covetousness." The Catholic monitors being withdrawn, such men are not aware of their own intellectual degradation, and so on they hurry, inflamed with an infinite desire of all perishable things; as Cicero says, "Following the sound of gold as bees that of brass †:"

> ——— "Ea turba cupidine prædæ
> Per rupes scopulosque, adituque carentia saxa,
> Quàque est difficilis, quàque est via nulla, sequuntur ‡."

The ancient miseries return—

> ——— *ἕτερα δ' ἕτερος ἕτερον*
> *ὄλβῳ καὶ δυνάμει παρῆλθεν.*
> *μυρίαι δὲ μυρίοισιν*
> *ἔτ' εἰσὶν ἐλπίδες* §.

"It is evident," says Plutarch, "that Demetrius resolved at any price to remove from Aristides and Socrates all suspicion of poverty, as if it were a great evil;" so he says that the latter was proprietor of a house, and that he had besides seventy silver minæ. Such, in the absence of Catholicism, would be the apologies now adduced. Cato the Censor neglected agriculture as not furnishing a sufficient source of revenue; but placing his money at interest, he purchased ponds, springs of mineral water, sites for manufactures, and woods for sale of timber, of all which he said that Jupiter himself could not diminish the revenue. According to him, "The divine man most glorious is he who can prove by his accounts that he has made more wealth than his father left him." Such are the fat and greasy citizens that still sweep on, as in the days that announced the desolation of a perishing empire—"Ubi est lex Catholica quam credunt? Ubi

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* i. 18.

† Cont. Rullum.

‡ Ov. Met. iii. 5.

§ Bacch. 905.

sunt pietatis et castitatis præcepta quæ discunt? Evangelia legunt, et impudici sunt. Apostolos audiunt, et inebriabuntur: vitam improbam agunt, et probam legem se habere dicunt[*]." "I hope," said a guest Catholically moved, who meets a representative of the moneyed interest in our age, "that your children are not too fond of money and business, to the exclusion of more important things. I am sure you would not wish that." To whom the financier is reported to have answered, "I am sure I should wish that. I wish them to give mind, and soul, and heart, and body, and every thing to business; that is the way to be happy[†]." "Their fathers," says Plato, who himself knew the race, "being only occupied with making their fortune, neglect all the rest, and are wholly indifferent to their virtue[‡]." Then follow manners which can direct observers through the disgust they must produce to that source of all that is noble, and decorous, and just in the conduct of men, whether in senate or on 'change; for, as Sidonius Apollinaris says, "here are men who, drunk with new riches, by their intemperance in using, betray their inexperience in possessing them; for they go armed to banquets, dressed in white to funerals, wrapped in furs to churches, meanly dressed to weddings, shining with oil to litanies—castorinati ad lætanias. No race of men or order of times is of any weight with them. In the forum Scythians, in chambers vipers, in banquets buffoons, in exactions harpies, in conversation statues, in tortures brute animals, in treaties shellfish, in contracts moles, in understanding stones, in judging wooden, in igniting flames, in pardoning iron, in friendship panthers, in jests bears, in deceit foxes, in pride bulls, in consuming minotaurs,—ad superbiendum tauri, ad consumendum minotauri[§]."

Blunting the keenness of their spiritual sense with narrow schemings and unworthy cares, you can draw with money even the poor under such influence anywhere, to Geneva or to Rome, to the temple at least of every opinion; to the Calvinist, to the Lutheran, to the Deist, to the Wesleyan, to the Independent, or to that which erects its crest against every form of religion—if only, like Hecuba, you can promise to discover to them

χρυσοῦ παλαιαὶ Πριαμιδῶν κατώρυχες[‖].

Give them clients, customers, and patrons; and they are yours whatever be your banner. But, as the chorus says of Poly-

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[*] Salvian. lib. iv. de Guber.

[†] Related in the Memoirs of Sir Fowell Buxton, who heard the words.

[‡] De Repub. lib. viii.

[§] Sid. Apoll. Epist. lib. v. 7.

[‖] Hecuba, 1000.

mestor, following the scent of treasure—

> *ψεύσει σ' ὁδοῦ τῆσδ' ἐλπὶς, ἥ σ' ἐπήγαγε*
> *θανάσιμον πρὸς 'Αΐδαν**.

Catholicity, as we have seen, condemns not riches or rich men; but it complains that both are immoderate, often misdirected—that, as the poet says,

> "All things are sold, the very light of heaven
> Is venal; earth's unsparing gifts of love,
> E'en love the solace of all woe and fellowship,
> All objects of our life, e'en life itself.
> Those duties which his heart of human love
> Should urge him to perform instinctively,
> Are bought and sold as in a public mart,
> Of undisguising selfishness, that sets
> On each its price, the stamp-mark of his reign.
> The harmony and happiness of man
> Yield to the wealth of nations; that which lifts
> His nature to the heaven of its pride
> Is barter'd for the poison of his soul:
> The weight that drags to earth his towering hopes,
> Blighting all prospect but of selfish gain,
> Extinguishing all free and generous love
> Of enterprise and daring; e'en the pulse
> That fancy kindles in the beating heart
> To mingle with sensation, it destroys—
> Leaves nothing but the sordid lust of self,
> The grovelling hope of interest and gold,
> Unqualified, unmingled, unredeem'd
> E'en by hypocrisy."

Yet, I repeat it, the ancients, the Pagans, could discern that such a spirit was pernicious to states and to individuals; and Plato says, things that would sound now like the voice of a Catholic hermit "upon 'change;" for "riches and virtue," he says, "are as two weights in a balance; when one mounts, the other must descend. Virtue and good men are less esteemed in a state in proportion as riches and rich men are more esteemed †." I know that he goes on to utter words that will seem extravagant, and that, in fact, exceed the bounds laid down by Catholicity; for, "of all the evils of a state," he observes, "not one is more incompatible with the possession of generous and just manners than an accumulation of gold and silver money ‡;" whereas Catholicism has the secret of effecting that combination. "Great riches and great virtue," he says, "are two things that cannot be combined—*πλουσίους δ' αὖ σφόδρα καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀδύνατον·*

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* Id. 1030.

† De Repub. lib. viii.

‡ De Legibus, lib. iv.

For he who does not distinguish between just and unjust, has twice the facility to grow rich that another possesses who does distinguish; and he who resolves to spend nothing, well or ill, must save twice as much as a man who is ready to spend well. Therefore gaining half, and expending the double, one can never grow as rich as he who has double gain and less expense by half. Now he who is the least rich, and who expends the most, is the good man; but he who takes with both hands, justly and unjustly, and who spends nothing, cannot fail to grow rich." Then returning to the soberness of truth, he adds, "We desire that men should not grow rich by means of usury and shameful traffic, but by the mere commerce of agricultural produce; and that they should not be compelled to neglect the things for which riches are made—that is, for soul and body. Therefore, the last of all our cares ought to be that of making money*." Through the influence of faith rich men can appear invested with a new character; but in modern times, when all ancient philosophic views respecting the danger of riches were discarded, as agreeing too much with the spirit of the Catholic Church, which was to be renounced at any cost of wisdom and of morals, men showed fearful consistency by seeking to convert all things into gold—churches, convents, hospitals, bells, relics, and the very bones of the common dead—nothing was to be spared. The state had adopted the prayer of Midas,

——— "Effice quidquid
Corpore contigero, fulvum vertatur in aurum;"

having, with a robber's haste, crammed its rich thievery up, it knows not how. Then, in some places, after time was supposed to have consecrated pillage, and men were besides otherwise enriched, as Tacitus says of Rome in his days, "Public wealth gained the complete ascendency over public principle." Then the triplex forum, as in Martial's days, would not suffice. Men had business in more quarters. Then the lineage of Verres returned, and, as if suggested by passing events, seemed the indignant exclamation, "Fuit ulla cupiditas tanta, quæ tantam extingueret religionem†!" Then the words of one false guide seem to have acquired a fearful and prophetic, and especial meaning, when he cried, "Believe it; right truly may it be said, that Antichrist is Mammon's son," words little heeded indeed at first. But soon the disappointment of the state might have been described, like that of the individual, only without the penitence,

"Attonitus novitate mali, divesque, miserque,
Effugere optat opes: et quæ modo voverat, odit.

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* Id. v. † Act. ii. lib. i.

> Copia nulla famem relevat; sitis avida guttur
> Urit et inviso meritus torquetur ab auro:
> Ad cœlumque manus et splendida brachia tollens,
> Da veniam—pater; peccavimus, inquit.
> Sed miserere, precor, speciosoque cripe damno*."

The circle had been soon described, and the false good of fortune substituted, as the poet says, for faith and innocence, for prayer and love, for the light which the soul can shed upon the world, and for that effulgence which God dispenses to the soul.

The road of practical life under the reign of the ancient Catholic civilization was guarded, as it ever will be by the same power, against this devastating torrent, by the principles of faith, which can be traced even in the exterior aspect of the scenes through which it passed; for in the markets, on the walls of cities, in the shops of merchants, in the senate, in the tribunals, at court, in the camp, everywhere religion leaves its mark, its cross, its symbol, the material proof of its supremacy. "Now here is to be noted," says Stowe, relating an instance of the latter, "that the wall of London at that time went straight south from Ludgate down to the river Thames; but for building of the Black Fryers church, the said wall in that place was by commandment taken down, and a new wall made straight west from Ludgate to Fleet bridge, and then by the water of Fleet to the Thames." Again, he shows how near was the representative of religious perfection to the busy haunts of industry; for he says, "Near East Smithfield is the Hermitage, now a brewhouse, so called of a hermit sometime being there." Thus, as in the city of the Tyrians,—

> "Lucus in urbe fuit mediâ lætissimus umbrâ†;"

so, in the Christian city, there was the monastery, and its grove, affording to the townsmen a most sweet refreshment. In capitals where modern opinions reign, neither books, nor pictures, nor friends, nor holy men, nor sacred chants, nor sacrifice are wanted. It may be so. Newspapers, equipages, routs, debates, and men of business supply their place. Monks, by the many, are not missed; but while faith predominated, cities required and yielded, as they still require and yield under its influence, men of God. How many excellent priests and monks did the city of Burgos yield to Mountserrata? How many do Paris and Dublin furnish still? The very tolls of bridges and ferries flowed into holy channels. The original foundation of London bridge, by report of Bartholomew Linsted, alias Fowle, last prior of St. Mary Overies church in Southwark, was this: A ferry being kept in place where now the bridge is built, at

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* xi. 5.

† i. 441.

length the ferryman and his wife deceasing, left the same ferry to their only daughter, a maiden named Mary, which with the goods left by her parents, and also with the profits arising of the said ferry, built a house of Sisters, in place where now standeth the east part of St. Mary Overies church, above the choir, where she was buried, unto which house she gave the oversight and profits of the ferry; but afterwards the said house of Sisters being converted into a college of priests, the priests built the bridge (of timber), as all the other the great bridges of this land were, and from time to time kept the same in good reparations, till at length, considering the great charges, the same bridge was built of stone; and then, in the year 1106, was this church again founded for canons regulars by William Pont de la Arche and William Dauncy, knights, Normans.

It was not then, as in the days of the perishing Roman empire, when, as Salvian said, "Such is the incredulity of men, that when they leave great riches to their heirs, and sometimes to strangers, this alone seems to them as lost which they give for their salvation *." The old Sibyl was not wanted to repeat—

"Sed tu mortalis versuta mente malaque
Noli divitiis nimis invigilare, sed illis
Missas conversus numen placare memento."

"For all men acquiesced in the most just custom of God," as St. Augustin says, "feeling assured that if they did not give him their tenths, they would be reduced to the tenth." And further, these tenths were not to be the fruit of a godless industry: "for, my brother," says St. Paulinus of Aquileia, "prescribe to all who are in your house to beware of avarice, and remind them that it is better to give to the poor only a little from one's poverty, than a large sum from an unjust acquisition. Alms acquired with iniquity are abominable before God; and yet there are some who take what belongs to others, and pretend to give alms from it, and when they oppress some, to have compassion on others. Only what they give of their own, and of their own labour, is grateful to God †."

The modern investigator on this road, Æneas like, admires only the vastness of the city

——— "Strepitumque et strata viarum ‡;"

but faith had checked this stream of a weary population by causing men to attach importance to other interests. "I know," says Stowe, "that by the good laws and customs of this city,

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* Salvian. Epist. 9.

† S. Paulin. Pat. Aquil. lib. Exhort. ad Henricum, c. 31.

‡ i. 422.

shodde carts are forbidden to enter the same, except upon reasonable cause, or they be tolerated. Also that the fore horse of every carriage should be lead by hand." By night the streets bore witness to the repose of men. "It was much that Henry Barton, sheriff of London in 1416, ordained," as Stowe says, "lantherns to be hanged out on the winter evenings, betwixt Hallowtide and Candlemasse." They did not want to supersede the pleasant darkness, so needful to all creatures, by light brought from the bowels of the earth, or from electric fire. But you invoke barbarism, I hear it said; you forbid man to exercise his genius? Nay, only to blind himself by a false glitter. Activity, science, new inventions, all are sanctioned, welcomed, blessed by Catholicity; only the moral abuse is guarded against and denounced. Let us proceed a few steps farther, and we shall arrive at the principle itself which produced this modification of human industry, and hear the solemn voices which proclaim its truth; for to the crowd, hastening without its benefit, a monitory cry, like that which Dante heard on his mysterious voyage, is addressed:

——— "Ah, wherefore go'st thou on?
Ah, wherefore tarriest thou not*?"

since, as Hilarius says, "cœlestes divitiæ non sine damno sæculi possidentur." Thou hast another race to run, another prize to win. Be not like Atalanta, stooping to pick up the golden apple, and so losing the race with Hippomenes,—

"Obstupuit virgo, nitidique cupidine pomi
Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit†."

Such prizes, picked up for a moment, cannot be held long by any grasp, they will roll on like the apple; for wealth, as Electra says, is a companion but for a short time:

τὰ δ' οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ βραχὺν ὁμιλῆσαι χρόνον‡.

"Nihil in hoc sæculo," says St. Aldhem, speaking of the liberty of his own election, "prolixa felicitate fruitur, nihil diuturna dominatione potitur: nihil quod non ad fatalem vitæ terminum, veloci cursu, tendere videatur. Et ideo sic nobis mundanarum rerum patrimonia sunt perfruenda, ut tamen æternæ patriæ emolumentis nunquam fraudaremur." So to the rich citizen the old poet says,

"Vos saveiz que morir convient,
Mais je ne sai c'il vos souvient
Que l'uevre ensuit l'ome et la fame;
C'il at bien fait bien en a l'ame.

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* Purg. 5. † x. 666. ‡ Elect. 940.

> Et nos trovons, bien en escrit
> 'Tout va fors l'amour Jhesu-crit;'
> Mais de ce n'aveiz-vos que faire
> Vos entendeiz à autre afaire [*]."

The Catholic religion teaches that, whatever be the talents exercised, life must not be spent in agitations for the increase of ephemeral goods, whether of glory or of money, striving to keep up a frail and feverish being, unmindful of the crown that virtue gives, night and day working, or superintending work, on land and sea, on railroads, in the mines, in manufactories, in the courts, without a moment of repose, sacrificing thousands of human beings for no higher object than that which animated the old society of Tiberius and Caligula—which sought for nothing but corporeal provisions—panem et Circenses—and unable to conceive a condition without such labours being protracted for ever—as, in fact, a will so misdirected must compel men to resemble those Homeric shades seen by Ulysses, which though disembodied were still the prey to carnal wants, to all the delusions of time and earth, remembering all things, and loving and hating the same things still [†]; so that of each Dante might exclaim, "O, fond Arachne! thee I also saw, half-spider now, in anguish crawling up the unfinish'd web thou weaved'st to thy bane [‡]." "O with what labour," exclaims St. Thomas of Villanova, "do men dig and fabricate these wretched cisterns, for which they forsake the true fountain of life! Witness these merchants, these soldiers, these followers of worldly care, who unceasingly labour day and night to contrive and hew them out [§]." "Ad inutilia negotia brevis est annus, et ad Domini colloquium quævis hora longissima est [||]." "But to plough, to sow, to plant, to weave, to build, or to work at any other mechanical art, cannot," he continues, "be the proper business of man; for man is not on account of these, but these are for man. Nor, for the same reason, can magistracy, war, or government be the proper occupation of man. We are literally hemmed in, and driven to confess with St. Augustin, 'quod homo creatus sit ut summum bonum intelligeret, intelligendo amaret, et amando eo frueretur.' All things else do their work, O man! do thou then thine [¶]." The Catholic religion teaches, that those who have caught only a glimpse at the great truth which presides over all human destiny, must pass on, and even force their way by violence through the tangled underwood, and escape from the gloom of all tracks where it is obscured, to the bright regions of eternal serenity. "Soar above others," says the poet, "and let thy fair eyes wander be-

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[*] Rutebeuf. [†] Od. xi. 536. [‡] Purg. 12.

[§] II. Serm. Dom. xvii. post Pent.

[||] Id. de Assumpt. Virg. ii. [¶] De Assumpt. Virg. iii.

tween the heaven that awaiteth souls, and the earth which is for our graves." "Rarely," you will reply, "it chances now that among us any makes this journey which I wend." Perhaps so. There is too much reason to fear that this upper road of active life of late has grown more dark and solitary than ever—but Catholicism is not changed to sanction foolish wanderings, though undertaken with the hope of making a fortune. If docile to it, men must be content with less company as they advance, and with some temporal loss, perhaps, in consequence; "for as a tree," says St. Chrysostom, "growing near the public road can hardly bring its fruit to maturity, so is it difficult for a faithful man, living in ceaseless contact with the world, to preserve immaculate justice in his actions to the end. Withdraw, then, aside from the way—take root in a secret place, that neither the world may have aught in common with you, nor you with the world *;" for, be the road you follow what it may, "very delicate," as St. Thomas of Villanova observes, "is the spirit of truth, which at the least offence immediately departs. It must be well guarded, lest, like a small spark on which you throw damp wood, by associating it with a load of temporal cares, it should be extinguished: for nothing can be imagined more tender or more delicate †." While the new civilization would keep society conversant only with questions of the currency, of free trade or protected trade, profit and loss, the loans, and shares, and speculations of the exchange, Catholicism would familiarize it with such brief lessons as those addressed by the seraph of Assissi to all rulers of the people, which tend to secure a right solution of even these social problems, saying, "Considerate et videte, quoniam dies mortis appropinquat. Rogo ergo vos cum reverentia, sicut possum, ne propter curas et sollicitudines hujus sæculi, quas habetis, Dominum oblivioni tradatis, et à mandatis ejus declinetis; quia omnes illi qui eum oblivioni tradunt, et à mandatis ejus declinant, maledicti sunt, et ab eo oblivioni tradentur, et cum venerit dies mortis, omnia quæ putabant habere, auferentur ab eis; et quanto sapientiores et potentiores fuerint in hoc sæculo, tanto majora tormenta sustinebunt in inferno."

Great material prosperity Catholicism declares is not the sure criterion of a happy state, either for individuals or for nations. After citing the Psalm which commemorates the riches and prosperity of the sons of aliens who speak vanity, St. Augustin says, "You see that by the exaggeration of earthly felicity it is not styled a blessed people unless à filiis alienis, that is, by men not pertaining to the regeneration by which we are made sons of God, from whose hand he prays to be withdrawn, lest by them he should be induced to adopt this opinion: for it is while speaking

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* Sup. Matt.

† Serm. iii. Dom. xvii. post Pent.

vanity that they pronounce blessed the people who have such things, which constitute the sole felicity that the lovers of the world seek *." The whole mind and spirit of a Catholic population must denote the presence of such thoughts as Calderon too expresses in one of the most beautiful and popular of his dramas. "You dreamt empire," says Clotaldo in the play of "Life is a Dream," but even in a dream it is beautiful and useful to do good. "He says rightly," replies Sigismond. "Let me then henceforth repress ambition if I should ever dream again, since I am in so strange a world, and that I now know from experience that life is but a dream. The king dreams that he is king, and he lives in this illusion, commanding, disposing, governing, and he awakes only in his death. The rich man dreams of his riches which cause him such anxieties. The poor man dreams of his poverty and his sufferings. He who raises himself dreams and prospers: he who is uneasy dreams and petitions: he who takes offence dreams and seeks vengeance; and so, in the world, all dream that they are what they are not. Therefore avaunt, ye vain phantoms! I desire henceforth no fantastic majesty, no deceitful pomp, no more of these delusions which vanish at the first breath, like the delicate flower of the almond-tree which the lightest breeze carries off, leaving its branches stript of their charming colours which so graciously adorned them. I know ye, now, and I know that ye deceive all men who sleep. I shall be on my guard; and since life is so short, O my soul, let us indulge in a new dream, but with prudence, with wisdom, so as to awaken without confusion. The disenchantment will be less when we are prepared for it. Seeing, then, that the most real power is only borrowed and must return sooner or later to Him from whom it emanates, let us use it well; for whether all the varieties and changes of this life be truth or deception, the only thing essential is to act well; if truth, for that very reason, and if deception, in order that when disabused we may have provided for ourselves friends. I attain the summit of prosperity; but this itself is only a dream. All this grandeur, power, and majesty will vanish like a dream. If it be so, then, what man for the vain glory of this world will madly forfeit a divine glory? What is past happiness but a dream? when we remember former pleasures, do we not finish by saying to ourselves—we dreamt all that? Well, then, since my delusions are exposed, and that I am henceforth convinced that desire in man is but a bright flame which turns whatever it can touch to ashes, to light dust, the sport of the least wind, let us think only of what is eternal, and of that durable glory where happiness and grandeur have neither sleep, nor rest, nor end."

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* S. Aug. Ep. lii.

The refreshment and joy, therefore, arising from the moderation of desires that we find upon the road of practical life, when under the influence of the Catholic religion, are the result of positive principles, and owe their existence, not to indolence or frivolity, as modern travellers suppose, but to doctrine and to truth. The desire of repose forms therefore an avenue to the Church, through which its wisdom is distinctively seen. Joannes Funccius, the chronologist, before his execution, pronounced these words,—

> " Disce meo exemplo mandato munere fungi,
> Et fuge ceu pestem τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην *."

A celebrated warrior in the time of the Emperor Adrian lived to a great age; but because he had only spent the last seven years in repose, far from the sound of the trumpet, he ordered these words to be inscribed on his tomb—" Hic jacet Similius Septennis Vetulus, qui licet annis plurimis vixerit, tamen annis tantummodo septem vixisse censendus, quibus ei licuit quiete vivere †." The Bishop of Nancy told the stranger, that the brave general Drouot assured him that his last years spent in blindness, but sanctified by piety in his little garden in that city, were, for the same reason, the happiest of his life.

" Passions and affairs," says the Père de Ligny, " are the general causes of the reprobation of men. Business, affairs render abortive all projects of conversion. Its necessity is felt; it is desired; passions grown weak with age are no longer an obstacle to it; business, affairs which have succeeded them leave no time for it. The day for it will come, men say, they hope; but they are deceived. Death gets the start of it; and the business of salvation is not even begun. An infinite number of other affairs have been settled; all useless then; while the one thing necessary is undone. O wise men of this world! what will you think then of your wisdom? Nos insensati! will be your cry of lamentation ‡." What a world of businesses, which by interpretation are mere nothings §! Do you know what the Catholic Church calls these busy men who now swarm around us? She styles them with the Gospel, idle men,—stantes in foro otiosos,—she calls them into the vineyard to work for their salvation. Do you know what she terms their success? Loss, perhaps even destitution and want. Hear the abbot Rupertus,—" Tekel, you are weighed, and found wanting,—weighed in the wisdom of God. And why wanting? Because you were unwilling to come to the rest of benediction, and sanctification,

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* Richebourcq. Ultima Verba, &c.

† Cœlius Rhodigen. lib. xi. c. 1. antiq. lect.

‡ Hist. de J. C.

§ Beaumont and Fletcher.

or to the seventh day in which God rested from his work. Therefore, according to the mystic Apocalypse, your numb is 666. You have laboured amongst the angels in arrogance. deception; you have gone round the earth and perambulated Your indefatigable labour receives increase in Anti-Christ Your kingdom is found wanting, wanting in the rest of th Creator, vacant and void in consequence of uninterrupte labour*." "Why, O wretched man!" exclaims St. Thomas of Villanova, "do you involve yourself in such a multiplicity of business, forgetful of your soul? What greater business can you have than to deliver yourself from your present servitude†?" "Viæ Sion lugent, eo quod non sit qui vadat ad solemnitatem;" and these words, says St. Bonaventura, "we, too may use, observing such a declension from the ways of justice in the whole world. For the desires of loving souls, tending to God and to the supernal city, are called ways; and these ways are said to lament, because there is no one who has regard to such a solemnity‡." The cheerfulness and joy that can be remarked upon the same road, while Catholicity prevails, proclaim no less the truth of the Church which produces such results.

"Oh! whither hasten ye, that thus ye press
With such swift feet life's green and pleasant path?"

"Sepiam viam tuam spinis," says a voice that would arrest you. The Catholic too hastens, but it is to taste the sanctified pleasures of a lofty and noble existence,—

"Vivere quod propero pauper, nec inutilis annis,
Da veniam:
——— properat vivere nemo satis,
Differat hoc, patrios optat qui vincere census,
Atriaque immodicis arctat imaginibus.
Me focus, et nigros non indignantia fumos
Tecta juvant, et fons vivus, et herba rudis."

Many wanderers on the different tracks of practical life resemble Pyrrhus, and require, like him, to be questioned as to their ultimate hopes by another Cineas, saying, "When you have gained this object, what will you do? You will live in great repose, you will pass your days in sweet entertainment and agreeable conversation. Ah, then, what prevents you from beginning so to live this very day? Pyrrhus," adds Plutarch, "was afflicted, but not corrected by the lesson." "For what will not men endure," as

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* Rup. Abb. Tuitiensis de Victoria Verbi Dei, vii. 8.

† Serm. ii. Dom. ii. Quod.

‡ S. Bon. Mystica Theologia, Prolog.

St. Thomas of Villanova asks, "willingly for glory, for advancement! Lo, when our Lord asked,—Potestis bibere calicem?—immediately, without hesitation, the apostles answered,—Possumus. Only let us reign, and we can endure everything[*]." Those who have not Catholic minds in regard to an estimate of the final end of man, are in general quite prepared to say, like Strepsiades, "Let them make of me what they will, I give them up my body; I give it up to blows, to hunger and thirst, to hot and cold; let them make a bladder of my skin, provided only I can gain money[†]." But, what is worse, they will give up as well the bodies and souls of others; they will offer up in holocausts to the deity they worship women, youths, children; they will,—but what reason have we to expect other manners, when the system which requires them is formally adopted by nations and established by legislative assemblies, whose acts of relief and humanity consist in limiting the work of young persons and women to ten hours in the day, which limitation is declared a few months later to be impolitic and unjust?—

> "Heu! fuge crudeles terras; fuge littus avarum[‡]."

Fly, though it be to places whose only manufacture, like that of some Spanish towns, consists in making the strings of a guitar,—

> "Lætus in præsens animus, quod ultra est
> Oderit curare." ————

Of Grenada, a French traveller says, in his profane style, "Every one seems conscientiously engaged in doing nothing. A little poetry and amusement suffice to occupy existence. One does not observe there that furious disquietude, that want of action and of changing place which torment the people of the north. The Spaniards appeared to me very philosophic. They attach hardly any importance to the material life; and comfort is wholly indifferent to them. The thousand fictitious wants created by the northern civilization seem to them as puerile and tiresome researches. Favoured by a delightful climate they have reduced existence to its simplest expression. That sobriety and moderation in all things procure for them a great freedom, an extreme independence; they have time to live, and that is what we cannot say for ourselves. For any one who arrives from Paris or London, those two vortexes of devouring activity, of feverish and over-excited existences, it is a singular spectacle to observe the life which is led at Grenada, life of leisure, filled with conversation, rest, walking, music, and the dance. One is surprised to see the happy calm of these coun-

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[*] De Jacob. ap. Serm.

[†] Nubes, 440.

[‡] Æn. iii. 44.

tenances, the tranquil dignity of their expression. No one h that business-face which one sees passing in Paris. Every one goes gently, choosing the shade, stopping to converse with friends, and showing no haste to arrive. All desire of making money, and all ambition, seem extinguished." Not there is heard

> "Ecce supervacuus, quid enim fuit utile gigni?
> Ad sua natalis tempora noster adest *."

But such a condition, you exclaim, would be insupportable in northern nations? Well, the Church, as we have seen, sanctions and even excites activity; but is it not still true that men who are without its influence render their lives wretched by excess of industry, and must not Catholicity, which obviates such abuse, charm them even under a northern sky? A recent instance of the effects of mental anxiety in London, on a commercial man, gave rise to a remarkable statement. The deceased, who had previously enjoyed what was termed "a prodigious constitution," on returning home one evening complained that anxiety about business made him very ill; a few days afterwards he was found dead in his bed. The coroner said, "That it was amazing how many persons died suddenly, or became insane, through anxiety in trade. It was a fact," he continued, "that many stately mansions of our wealthiest merchants became private lunatic asylums from the same cause. Some time before he had had in his own district twenty-four cases of suicide in twelve days." Several jurors then corroborated the statements of the coroner. Is it not therefore still true, that the love of money, or of power, or of influence, constitute the root of all evil, and that it is this which obscures the beauty and the happiness of human life? Is it not still a wise lesson,—

> "Verum pone moras et studium lucri?"

"The desire of riches," says Plutarch, "does nor proceed from an affection natural to us; but it arises in us from a vulgar opinion which glides into us from without." Can it be wrong to restore, under proper restrictions, the freedom and the felicity of nature? Can it be right to embitter and endanger life itself beyond what is involved in human contingencies? so as to be able to say,—

> "Naturæ miseras auximus arte vias †?"

But whatever may be advanced by those who would throw suspicion on manners conformable to the gracious invitations of our

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* Ovid. Trist. iii. 13. † Propert.

Creator, to rejoice and taste the sweets of a rational and innocent mode of life, the last stage of this road unfolds a view of the Catholic influence which at least no formal opponent can obscure or misrepresent; for it sets before us, as one of its immense results, the reign of contentment in all the varied conditions in which men are placed, and an acquiescence in the suggestions of that true wisdom of life which the ancients so extolled, though they only knew it when mixed with elements of but little purity. The Catholic influence in this respect can hardly be condemned by men who admire the manners described by their familiar poet,

——— "insuevit pater optimus hoc me,
Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando;
Cum me hortaretur, parcè, frugaliter, atque
Viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset*."

The lines—

——"Parva quidem, sed sine labe, domus
Et neque divitiis, nec paupertate notanda est†,"

can hardly be adduced in support of an opinion derogatory to the consequences of the Catholic religion, which teaches men to be satisfied with such circumstances, if they are to be cited in our schools as arguing in the Pagan a wise moderation of desires. No one is heard denouncing an influence injurious to habits of industry, and depressing the spirit of a nation for energetic enterprize, when sweet Tibullus sings,—

"Non ego divitias patrum fructusque requiro,
  Quos tulit antiquo condita messis avo.
Parva seges satis est; satis est, requiescere lecto
  Si licet, et solito membra levare toro."

No one even is indignant when referred to Claudian, saying,—

"Pauper erat Curius, reges cum vinceret armis;
Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum;
O bona paupertas! O nondum condita divum
Munera! virtutum custos et amica pudori."

The Catholic religion, therefore, which accepts these tributes as so many offerings to the wisdom of its own prescriptions, and to the beauty of its own achievements through all the successive periods of its history, must stand plainly revealed before us while advancing in the company of such guides as even profane erudition has prepared for youth. Catholicity, in flat contradic-

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* Sat. i. 4.

† Ovid, Trist. ii. 1.

tion to the maxims of the modern economists, ratifies and urges the lessons of the old philosophy, saying, with Plato, "Men should persuade themselves that it is not by diminishing their fortune that they are impoverished, but by increasing their desires"—*καὶ πενίαν ἡγουμένους εἶναι μὴ τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλάττω ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τὴν ἀπληστίαν πλείω**. Mathieu Paris indeed expressly says that, on occasion of a certain debate, "every one cited the moral precept—It is moderation which renders man content. It is not mediocrity of fortune, but the voracity of desires which makes him poor†." The old hermit, without having read Plato, taught the same maxim when he said,—

"Man wants but little here below,
Nor wants that little long."

The modern political economists, forgetting the admissions of their youth, reject indeed these principles, and represent cupidity as a virtue. "Hodie vir quietus inutilis," as Pope Innocent III. says, who nevertheless had not seen a systematic advocacy of evil‡; but the progress of society calls for many new chapters of his work, which is to display the misery of the human condition: for men are now directed back to the worst passes of the old road which, in his time, were deemed impracticable; now they find themselves again among the precipices in which Paganism was involved,—

"Fortuna multis dat nimis, satis nulli."

Now they are overtaken by a crowd upon this bent, who, as of old, in making riches are never weary, to whom the heathen's taunts are applicable,—Do you possess thirteen talents? You wish to have sixteen. Have you gained these? You must obtain forty or else die§. Therefore, methinks, now more than ever, the road of practical life directs men to recognize the admirable results of a discipline which is opposed to that cupidity which renders life thus restless, discontented, and in fact miserable. "Multis parasse divitias, non finis miseriarum fuit, sed mutatio." The remark of Seneca‖ is rendered familiar and effective by the Catholic lessons. It is proved by them, as Sarasa, in his treatise on the art of always rejoicing, observes, that it would be injurious to you if your state of life should be changed by riches, and that when grown rich, you would not perform those good works which you had thought you would perform, nay, that you would not even perform what you had performed when in your first condition¶. The precept becomes

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* De Legibus, v.

† Ad ann. 1226.

‡ De Contemptu Mundi, i. 29.

§ Aristoph. Plutus.

‖ Epist. 17.

¶ Ap. semper gaud. P. i. Tract 12, § 5.

effective, as one example can show. "In a house of the Carthusian order near Treves, (we read,) a certain novice, named Meynardus, was tempted to leave the place; and he said to himself, If I had ten golden pieces, I would not remain here longer. Soon after, searching for something in his cell, he found ten gold pieces; but, recognizing the fraud of the devil, he overcame the temptation, and ever after, during forty-two years, persevered in that house till his death*." Thus does Catholicism prepare men for avoiding the snares of which, in every form of impressive words, warning is given to them betimes, while straying through the forest of mortal delusions; for even the familiar tale conveyed that warning when the popular literature was influenced by faith. "A man," says the same old author, "having false friends, and falling into calamity, and being called to give his account to the king, applied to them for assistance. The first laughed at him, and said that he could give him nothing but a sheet to cover him. The other said he was sorry, and that all he could do would be to go with him a short way, and then return to his own affairs. A third, whom he had never esteemed, promised to accompany him, and plead for him. The first friend is the possession of riches, from which men in death receive only a shroud; the second represents wife and children, and friends, who only go as far as the grave at the funeral; the third is virtue, which pleads for us before the judge†." Such are the hands pointing, ever amidst the busy scenes of occupation and labour, to the holy Catholic faith, which thus modifies and directs the principle of human industry. Give us our daily bread? Behold, it cries, the extent and riches of philosophy! How much is comprehended in these few words? For by this he says to us, "Cease, O men! to give yourselves up to vain things! Cease to accumulate matter for cares and labour against yourselves. It is little that nature requires; some food easily prepared and in moderation for your flesh. Why seek to multiply tributes to yourself? Why subject yourself to so many obligations, seeking silver, digging for gold, going to the Indies for the sake of merchandize, having luxury for a perpetual exactor of tribute from yourself‡?" Follow rather, it concludes, with St. Isidore of Damietta, "follow and seek spiritual good, which is never taken away—ingentis enim miseriæ atque amentiæ fuerit hæc petere, quæ etiam cum habemus excutere jussi sumus§." Who is there that will give ear to this, that will attend and hearken for times to come? He will proceed on to the glorious centre and convert into monitors, announcing refuge in the Catholic Church,

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* Joan. Maj. Magnum Speculum, 43. † Id. 23.

‡ S. Greg. Nyss. Orat. iv. de Oratione Dom.

§ Isidor. Pelus. 249.

the very shades and obstacles of his road of practical life, which now perhaps is more than usually fruitful in lessons for the crowd, since we seem arrived at one of those many epochs which the world has seen, when men, who can never wholly forget the ancient and universal traditions of the human race, find a fearful agreement with all they behold and hear around them in grave words, like those which a poet now utters with such solemnity, saying,

> ——— "the earth's grown wicked;
> And many signs and portents have proclaim'd
> A change at hand, and an o'erwhelming doom
> To perishable beings."

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROAD OF WORKMEN.

A thick shade formed by a race of hardy serviceable trees that correspond well with the title of the new road on which we are entering, receives us as we leave the common main way of all engaged in practical life which has led us so far through observations connected with the views of Catholicity, which all states and professions can supply. We must here begin to strike off into some of the special alleys which are followed by those who are directed to the different objects of labour presented in the world; and in these journeys we shall follow generally an ascending order, beginning with the lowest and proceeding in succession to the highest in the social scale, though after the first stage we shall be induced to enter on a way that is trodden by those still lower than the first, whose practice consists in contending with indigence, with whom the charity of the Catholic Church unites all classes, and amongst whom it is true there is no class that may not by the uncertainty of human events find itself at last associated. From this high pitch lee let us descend then now a lower flight, and speak of things at hand and common; though, as the poet says,—

> "Difficile est propriè communia dicere: tuque
> Rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
> Quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus*."

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* Art. Poet.

A vast canopy of ash, from which Hesiod derives his brazen men, trees ever in danger from the axe by reason of their great utility, promises firm footing as we advance upon a marshy tract, for which its roots act as deep underdrains. Following the road of workmen, through covers mingled with oak and elm and beech, we descend into the plain that all these races of the forest love *. Here too grow service-trees that yield the wood so prized for weaver's shuttles, and limes which bear the smoke of cities better than any other tall-growing forest tree ; for which reason workmen in most French and German towns are familiar with them, and mulberry-trees which feed the worm that provides whole cities with employment. The first hand, pointing to the Catholic Church that is presented here, proclaims the very origin of all free labour to be in her divine faith. The workman, free as the senator, is a child of Catholicity : the Church is his parent, and he owes his existence as such to the Credo which he sings at mass. What lies here at our feet as it were among these acorns? It proves a charter given in 1060 by the monk Peter, signed by the knights Peter and Gerbert in the monastery of Congues †. "In the name of God, Almighty Father," it begins, "and in the name of his only Son, who was incarnate, to deliver men from the slavery of sin, and to adopt them as his sons, we, that He may deign to remit us the sins we have committed, hereby restore to liberty our men who had been subject to the yoke of servitude : for the Lord has said, Remit, and it shall be remitted to you ; and, in speaking to his Apostles, He said, You are all brethren. Therefore, if we are brethren, we ought not to keep any of our brethren in a servitude which they do not owe to us, as Truth himself declares, Let no man call you master, blaming less the arrogance of human pride than the injustice of domination : that is why we emancipate from all servitude our serfs, both men and women ‡."

On the present road we cannot tarry to search for more testimonies of this kind, respecting the zeal of Catholics to emancipate those who in the ancient world were condemned to work without liberty. We might find, if we had time for details, with which every one conversant with history is familiar, charters of abbeys and of feudal princes, without number, attesting it. We might produce the Bull of St. Pius V., declaring that all slaves who embraced Christianity should become ipso facto Roman citizens, entitled to the protection of the senate : but supposing a fact of history, which is notorious, to be granted, let us proceed to observe how the Catholic doctrine has widened and totally

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* Plin. N. H. xvi. 30.

† Rouerque.

‡ Archives de Congues dans les Mémoires sur le Rouerque par Bosc. tom. iii.

changed the character of this road, impelling upon it a mighty throng of all classes, thereby encouraging and contenting those who, without the views of Catholicity, might be disposed to proceed on it through unredeemed necessity with envy in their hearts and unavailing sorrow. In the first place, this great change has been effected by rendering all men of every degree conscious of being involved in the same obligation, and by teaching that every one obedient to the Church is, in a certain sense, to become a workman and a servant, the most sublime personage on earth having for his title, "The Servant of the servants of God." "The most elevated professions," says the chancellor d'Agnesseau, "are even the most dependent; and while holding all other states subject to their authority, they experience in their turn that necessary subjection to which the order of society has reduced all conditions. He, whom the grandeur of his employment raises above other men, soon recognizes that the first day of his dignity has been the last of his independence *." Such is the law of the Christian civilization, for though Catholicity confers many privileges, that of idleness and exemption from the duty of labour is not among them. And here, again, the trees of the forest point to the Divine centre, proclaiming it to be in the religion which contains such principles; for, as Pliny observes from studying them, such is nature, that it would rather produce than live: "Ea est enim natura, ut parere malit quam vivere †" Hear what says the ancient rule: "Omnis homo in vita sæculi hujus tribus rebus excitatur, laborat et studet; peregrinus in via, miles in pugna, imperator in palatio, agricola in agro, mercenarius in negotio, omnes excitantur et laborant, ut habeant dum vivunt, unde vestiantur, calcientur, et vivant ‡." "By every lover of virtue," says Drexelius, "must labour be loved. The law of St. Paul, 'si quis non vult operari nec manducet,' is binding on the whole human race §." The Catholic poet expresses the same obligation thus: "Every created being," says the Spaniard in the play of Lopez de Vega, "must serve. Yes, it is so, without exception. The king himself serves in doing his business as king—establishing laws and rendering justice; the seigneur serves as a gentleman or major-domo, or in fulfilling willingly or unwillingly some other office. The service of the prelate consists in watching diligently over his church; that of the governor, in the administration of the province; that of the auditor, in listening to the pleadings; the alguazil arrests; the alcade punishes; the

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* Discours pour l'Ouverture du Parlement, prononcé en 1693.

† N. H. lib. xvii. 11.

‡ Regula Magistri, c. lxxxii. ap. Luc. Holst. Cod. Reg.

§ Rosæ Select. P. i. c. 8.

attorney conducts the trial; the lawyer accuses or defends; the physician serves his patient; the liegeman serves his lord; the officer his superior; the daughter her father; and the father his daughter. All the world here below serves[*]." In the ninth century, at the beginning of Lent, when public penitents were ejected from the church, as Adam from Paradise, the clergy following them sung the verse, "In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo," to express the universal obligation of all who had inherited the penalty of Adam[†]. Holy men desire us to remark the expression in our prayer of "Panem nostrum," adding, that is our bread, not others' bread, because "qui non laborat non manducet," and that it is written "In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo[‡]." This is the mysterious primitive law of labour, springing, says Giraud, archbishop of Cambray, "not from any earthly legislation, which can be eluded, but established by God at nearly the origin of the world, which is perpetual in its action, having survived all revolutions of ages and society, and which time, ever changing and renewing the customs and manners of nations, has left untouched for sixty centuries[§]."

But it is not alone doctrine conveyed in such instructions that directs us on this road to the Catholic Church. The examples placed before us in history and in life, wherever her influence extends, point in the same direction. All men docile to her voice in point of fact labour, and, in a certain sense, identify themselves with workmen, as can be easily observed. Some, indeed, are the workmen of intelligence—but they are working at a trade than which, however exalted may be its form and object, perhaps a cotton-mill is not more fatiguing, nor in some instances more destructive of health; they work hard, and are as honest men, too, as some modern boasters would represent those who, in the common acceptation of the word, are workmen exclusively to be. "Honours, dignities, and important places, are proved to be charges," says Giraud, archbishop of Cambray, "as our language so energetically terms them." Confining our view, however, at present, to those who more perfectly or externally represent faith, we should remark that monks, so essentially labourers, are, after all, only men taken from all classes of society, including princes and nobles who choose, as wishing to be perfect, a life of labour, like those who actually have to work for their maintenance. Accordingly, the work of monks, under the rule of St. Benedict, is proposed as an example to the workmen of France by the excellent Egron, who had been himself a printer, in his

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[*] The Lock of Phenice.

[†] Regino Abb. Prum. De Eccles. Discip. lib. i. 135.

[‡] Savonarola, Expos. Orat. Dom.

[§] Pastoral Address, 1845.

Livre de l'Ouvrier. "They are truly monks, if they live by the labour of their hands," says St. Benedict. "Every monk," says the rule of St. Ferreolus, "must work daily. He who cannot labour with his hands must employ himself in reading; he who does not till the ground, must doubly worship God, and must also exercise some art; that he who cannot turn up the ground with a plough, may paint the page with his fingers. If he cannot work in agricultural matters, he must read or write, or provide for the taking of fish, or make nets, or prepare shoes for the brethren *." St. Jerome remarks, that it was the custom of the monasteries in Egypt to receive no one who did not labour for his food †. St. Augustin composed a treatise on the obligation of manual labour ‡. Rufinus mentions that it was the general custom of the monks in Egypt to hire themselves out for the harvest, and that the sums they earned were so considerable that they used to be sent to foreign nations, as Egypt had not sufficient poor to consume them §. St. Benedict puts a reaping-hook into the hands of the Goth who comes to him as a convert. St. Bernard dwells on the same obligation. "Labor et latebræ," he says, "et voluntaria paupertas, hæc sunt monachorum insignia, hæc solent vitam nobilitare monasticam ||." "Labour with your hands," says the rule of St. Anthony, "and the fear of the Lord will dwell in you." The rule of St. Macaire prescribes labour from tierce till nones. St. Benedict desires that the monks should work at the harvest. The Carthusians, by their first statutes, were enjoined to labour in winter from tierce to sexts, and in summer from prime to tierce. The Cistercians evinced great ardour for labour. They reaped the corn; they cultivated wastes; they cut down trees in forests; they built houses; they carried manure; they sheared sheep; they dug the soil; and St. Bernard failed not to set an example, as far as his strength would permit, carrying wood on his shoulders, and applying to the most humble offices of the monastery. Visit Mount St. Bernard, in Leicestershire, and you will see them so employed at this very day. The Abbot de Rancé says, that the early hermits and monks "deemed it disgraceful for a man not to labour, according to the sentence 'in sudore vultus tui vesceris panem.' The laborious life of monks," says he, "should teach men to fly idleness, uselessness alone being capable of reducing a free mind delivered from passions to the servitude of all vices ¶." St. Columban says, that a monk should not pass a

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* Reg. S. Fer. c. 28. ap. Luc. Holst. Cod. Reg.

† Ep. ad Rustic.

‡ I. Tract. de Oper. Monach.

§ In Vit. Patr. ii. 18.

|| Epist. xxiv.

¶ Dom. de Rancé De la Sainteté et des Devoirs de la Vie monastique, chap. xix.

single day without labour, as well as reading and prayer*. "Lassum ad stratum veniat," says the rule of St. Columban, though he is falsely reported by a modern French historian to have been less strict in directing monks to labour. The error of the Massaliens, in the fourth century, who maintained that monks ought not to labour with their hands, but only pray, was condemned at its birth †. "I wish to be like the angels, and employ myself wholly in praising God," said John, a certain brother, who departed into the desert, and after a week returning, knocked at the senior's cell; who asked his name, and receiving for answer "I am John;" replied "No—John is become an angel, no longer with men." At last admitting him, he said, "If you are a man, work that you may live;" and the other besought his pardon, and acknowledged his sin ‡.

A certain brother came to Abbot Silvanus, and seeing brethren at work, said, "Labour not for the food that perishes;" and the old man charged them to lead him to a cell; and at nones this brother came to the door, expecting food, and no one bringing it, he went to the old man and asked if they fasted that day. "Not so," he replied; "we eat." "Why then did you not call me?" "Because you are a spiritual man, and do not want this food; but we being carnal, labour for it with our hands." And he said, "Forgive me, abbot;" and the abbot said, "Mary has need of Martha, for by Martha Mary is praised §." Reinaldus, that man of God, after thirty years piously spent in the world, and twenty years in the monastic habit at St. Amand, became in fine a monk at Clairvaux. One day, being with the others reaping the harvest in the fields, he began to meditate on the surprising fact, that so many wise, and noble, and rich men should have renounced their pride and pleasure to labour thus for the love of Christ, and to thank God for having admitted him to bear them company; and being suddenly rapt into an ecstasy, he beheld a vision descending into the valley of our blessed Lady, and St. Elizabeth, and St. Mary Magdalen, as if to visit the reapers ‖. From the most ancient times the monastery of Clairvaux presented the curious spectacle of an immense concentration of labour and industry—wood-cutting, irrigation, drainage, mills of all kinds, farms, forges, manufactories of cloth, brick-kilns, tanneries, over each of which departments an overseer presided. The Hieronymites in Spain, and the Trappists in France, England, Ireland, Africa, and America, continue the same labours to our time. St. Gregory of Nazianzen, when elevated to the episcopacy, regretted his manual labour as a monk

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[*] Cap. 2.

[†] De Rancé, Eclaircissements, &c. 13.

[‡] Lib. Doc. Patrum.

[§] Joan. Maj. Mag. Spec. 426.

[‖] Id. 427.

in the desert. "Who will give me back," he cried, "that celestial life of psalmody, and prayer, and labour? Oh that I might again see that happy time which we used to pass in working with our hands, in carrying wood, cutting stones, planting trees, and conducting water by canals!" The building of the bridges of Boussac on the Durance, that of the Saint-Esprit on the Rhone, that over the Tamarga in Portugal, and some over the Dee and the Avon in England, were the work of religious men, who laboured at them with their own hands. St. Amedée de Hauterive, related to the emperor Conrad, of the house of Clermont, employed himself, as a monk of Bonnevaux, in clearing out the sewers of the monastery, and procuring an escape for their contents into the bed of the river Gere, which had been dried up by the sun *; so that no labour was too vile or painful for the greatest princes who adopted the life of voluntary work, while those who were engaged in labour by the necessity of their condition were raised to the freedom that the others seemed to have renounced, becoming, after the great Catholic movement of the Crusades, of which the influence in this respect was permanent, so independent that, as an old writer observes, no one dared to infringe their freedom. "Et dominus non audebat prohibere servum: omnibus liberum erat iter propter timorem et amorem Dei." As with monks of the ancient orders, so with the friars of the thirteenth and subsequent centuries, common workmen find themselves associated. St. Francis, in his rule, prescribes manual labour, saying, "It is my intention that the brethren should learn some trade, in order to avoid idleness, and set a good example." The words of St. Francis, "Go thy way, brother fly, wishing to be idle and to eat from the labour of others," sufficiently indicate the spirit of their foundation. At St. Mary of the Angels, his friars used often to go into the fields to assist the labourers and farmers, who in return would give them bread †. Brother Giles always desired to live by the labour of his hands; therefore every morning after mass, he used to go to a forest eight miles from Rome, and carry home wood on his shoulders, which he sold cheap to such as wanted it. In the vintage he used to assist the wine-pressers. Even while resident with Cardinal Nicolas, at Reati, he insisted on gaining his food by labour. One day, when the rain prevented him from going out to work, he applied to the cook of the cardinal, and agreed with him for two loaves to clean out the kitchen. Another day he cleaned the knives, and brought the bread that he so earned to eat it at the cardinal's table ‡. Egron reminds workmen that many French priests too, in the country,

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* Hist. de plusieurs Saints des Maisons de Tonnerre et de Clermont. 52.

† Speculum Vit. S. F. cap. 83.

‡ Id. ii. c. 16.

occupy their leisure in manual labour[*]; but contented with the examples already cited, let us observe again how the doctrine of the Catholic Church ennobles the office of labour, though pronouncing it a punishment as unable to flatter any one, and thereby conduces to encourage the workman, and confer on him the happiest remuneration.

We have already found him journeying on this road in very exalted company; and he may reasonably be led to inquire from what cause his condition of life, so opposed to the desires of luxury, should be followed by persons from choice, who might have lived without labour, feeding without reproach upon the bread of others. Such an inquiry will lead him to discover that it is not Protestantism, not human philosophy in any form, but the old Catholic religion, taught by priests and secured in unity by the Holy See, which has raised labour to this dignity, and developed the fruits of the divine seed which were sown in the world at first by the example and instruction of our Lord. Christianity found labourers and workmen in a state of recognized humiliation and servitude, as under the laws of Lycurgus, which reserved mechanical arts for the hands of slaves, and allowed in others only the trade of war. Such were the views of the whole world, even when it was acknowledged that work could not be well performed by men reduced to despair; for Pliny says, "Coli rura ab ergastulis pessimum est, et quidquid agitur a desperantibus[†]." Aristotle says, "Those are sordid and illiberal studies in which the bodies of men are made foul, or which require much bodily labour[‡];" and Galen only admits painting to be a noble art, for the significative reason, though not exactly in all respects exact, that it does not require the strength of a juvenile body[§]. "Whence comes," says Plato, "the kind of ignominy attached to the mechanical arts and to servile professions? Is it not that these arts suppose in the men who exercise them so weak a reason, that being unable to command, they are reduced to serve their passions, and have no industry beyond that of inventing new means to satisfy them[||]?" Those isolated philosophers who fondly recurred to times of greater simplicity, like Cicero and Plutarch, expressing a desire that good but unlearned men might be collected from among labourers, as they had led Cincinnatus from the plough to make him dictator[¶], might have been attracted to the Church by that wish alone; since within the new and mystical society which it established upon earth, that wish could have been at length realized, the times commemorated or imagined by Hesiod being

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[*] Le Livre de l'Ouvrier.

[†] N. H. xviii. 4.

[‡] I. Politic. c. i.

[§] In Exhort. ad bon. Art. in fin.

[||] De Repub. lib. ix.

[¶] De Finibus, ii.

brought back, when "no kind of labour was counted base, no art placing a difference between men, and commerce being honourable." To find the origin of the supernatural dignity with which the Catholic religion invests the person of the workman, and the art he exercises, we must refer to the great mystery that represents our Lord as the apprentice of the carpenter St. Joseph, from which fact Protestantism practically discards all deductions.

"Certain persons," says the Archbishop of Cambray, "have exhausted all the forms of praise to laud the ancient custom of China, where, on a certain day every year, the emperor of that vast empire, surrounded by the officers and princes of his court, and in presence of the assembled people, touches for a moment the plough, and traces a furrow with his royal hand in a field specially devoted to the ceremony. We will not deny the high moral and the sagacious policy of such a custom, nor call in question the great consideration and encouragement to the first and most necessary of all the arts—to agriculture, which such an example is calculated to inspire. But the Christian workman! ah! it is not a prince of this earth who is held up to him as a model! It is no ostentatious emperor, clothed in the apparel of royal majesty, who comes once a year to touch with the tip of his finger the burden beneath which the labourer bends! It is the divine founder of our religion, Jesus Christ, the son of God, Himself truly God, who determined, in the excess of his love, to undergo all the labours equally with all the pains of manhood. Workman, whoever thou art, and to whatever toil thy strength is devoted, contemplate thy Master and thy God occupied for thirty years in the workshop of a mechanic, sawing, planing, and polishing wood, permitting Himself to be called the son of the carpenter, and stamping, for the future, upon all manual labour, which his example had sanctified, not merely a consideration appreciable by human estimation, but also a divine value! 'Let those then,' cries Bossuet, 'who live by any mechanical art, be consoled and rejoice! Jesus Christ is one of their brotherhood; let them then learn to praise God; God will bless their exertions, and they will stand before Him as so many images of Jesus Christ.'" St. Justin says that our Lord laboured at making carts and yokes for oxen, to teach us to avoid idleness; and his testimony is the more remarkable as he lived so soon after the Apostles, who must have transmitted to him the tradition [*]. The Abbot de Rancé, whose chapter on manual labour should be read to all workmen, observes that the Apostles, notwithstanding all their solicitude and application in the government of the Church, laboured with their own hands. St. Cle-

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[*] Dialog. cum Triph.

ment, he says, proposes their example, and adds, "We who are occupied with preaching the word, take care to find hours for labouring. Amongst us, accordingly, some apply to fishing, others to making tents and sails, others to cultivate the ground." All the holy fathers regard work as of obligation. "To live by one's labour," says St. Chrysostom, "is a kind of life conformable to reason and to true wisdom; the minds of those who are occupied in labour being stronger and purer: for labour expels evil thoughts; it gives us the means of assisting the poor; of being at no one's charge, and of accomplishing more perfectly the law of Jesus Christ." St. Jerome accordingly says, that "no one should deem himself dispensed from labour, since the Apostles laboured with their hands*." But the Catholic Church, faithful to her divine model, continues to ennoble labour by the example also of her saints. St. Isidore, an agricultural labourer; St. Theodotus, an innkeeper and martyr; St. Homobonus, St. Maximus, St. Justus, tradesmen and shopkeepers; St. Phocas and St. Serenus, gardeners; St. Mary, a slave; St. Crispin and St. Crispinian, shoemakers and martyrs; St. Guy, a beadle; St. Veronica, a poor peasant girl; St. Bennet, a shepherd boy; St. Galmier, a locksmith,—such are the names for ever associated with the laborious occupations of the low, which must fill them with a sense of the true dignity with which Catholicism invests their state of life. But, you will say, all this is language no longer understood. Not the saints, I am aware, but in France the sophists, in England the Obediahs and Ebenezers, are the men with whom the modern workman is most familiar. Well then, leaving examples, passing by men though canonized as forgotten or unknown, let us return again to the doctrines of the Catholic Church as ennobling the ideal of the workman's state, and furnishing in consequence, to all who are inclined to philosophize upon it, a spacious avenue, by which they may advance towards her with a conviction that the central luminary for their especial path of life is there. And now a pure attenuated atmosphere, denoting the confines of most elevated regions, invigorates our fatigued frame, and breathes a celestial freshness all around. Who could have supposed that our road, ascending thus far amidst the deep wood imperceptibly from the plain, should have led us so near the serene summits, where the mists of earth float far beneath, and the very air that is breathed inspires thoughts of heaven? Yet such is the fact, as we proceed upwards by this path, skirting the torrent that flows down from the mystic sources of the Catholic wisdom. Here is a break, which enables us to perceive what an elevation

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* Dom. de Rancé de la Sainteté et des Devoirs de la Vie monast. chap. xix.

we have reached. The stream that we have been following descends from the lofty school; and in such passages as these denotes how near we must already be to its spring-head in the heights that almost touch heaven. "There is a fountain of light," says St. Bonaventura, "from which all illumination flows; and it may be thus distinguished—first, exterior light, which is the light of mechanical art; secondly, inferior light which is the light of philosophic knowledge; thirdly, superior light, which is the light of grace; and fourthly, the light of the Holy Scriptures. The first illuminates in regard to artificial and external figures; it is called that of mechanical art, and exterior, as being somewhat degenerate from the knowledge of philosophy. It is sevenfold, as Hugo of St. Victor says, being concerned with the working of wool, or iron, or wood, agriculture, hunting, cookery, navigation, theatric and medicinal skill—all which are either to comfort or to exclude grief or want, or to be advantageous and useful, or to delight. In the illumination of mechanical art, we can behold the generation and incarnation of the Word—the order of living, and the federation between God and the soul; and this is the art of operation, the quality of the effect and the utility of the fruit elicited. For the artificial effect proceeds from the artificer through the medium of the similitude existing in the mind, by which he thinks before he produces, and then produces as he has disposed. But the artificer produces externally a work assimilated to the interior model as far as he can; and if he could produce what would love him and know him, he would do so, and this even if it had darkened eyes of knowledge, and if, in order that it should know him, it were necessary that he should condescend to take its nature. In this manner, understand that no creature proceeds from the highest worker, unless by the eternal Word by which he produces all things; and thus, in the illumination of mechanic art, in regard to the egress of the work, we behold the Word generated and incarnate—that is, the divinity and humanity, and the whole of faith. Now if we consider the effect, we shall behold the order of living; for every artificer intends to produce a beautiful, useful, and stable work; and thus, in the order of living, three qualities are required, namely, to know, to wish, and to persevere; knowledge rendering the work beautiful, the will useful, and perseverance stable or durable. Lastly, if we consider the fruit, we shall behold the union of the soul and God; for every artificer who works, does so either to be praised, or to procure advantage and gain, or that it should give him pleasure, according to the threefold appetite of good, expedient, and delectable; on account of which three things God made the rational soul, that it should praise Him, serve Him, and find delight in Him, as He delights to be with it. Behold in what manner

the illumination of mechanic art is a way to the illumination of the Holy Scriptures, and how there is nothing in it which does not proclaim the true wisdom*." Mark now how other waters feed the stream. The fresh supply is from the work of Theophilus, who writes thus :—" Theophilus, humble priest, servant of the servants of God, unworthy of the name and of the profession of a monk, to all those who wish to avoid or to subdue indolence of mind and dissipation of heart by a useful occupation of their hands, and a delightful meditation of new things, I desire a recompense of celestial price! We read, in the beginning of the history of the creation of the world, that man was made in the image of God, vivified by the inspiration of the divine breath, and elevated by the excellence of his nature above other animated creatures. Endowed with reason, he was made partaker of the genius and counsels of the divine wisdom ; given free will, he saw nothing above him but the will of his Creator, nothing to respect but his empire. Miserably deceived by diabolic art, though in punishment of his disobedience, he lost the privilege of immortality, nevertheless he so transmitted to his posterity the dignity of science and intelligence, that whoever would employ care and application might acquire, as of hereditary right, the capacity for all kinds of art. Human industry laying hold of this power, transmitted it through the lapse of ages to the predetermined days of the Christian religion. Then one beheld a people consecrated to God, applying to his service what was destined by Him to the glory of his name—ut quod ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui condidit dispositio divina, in ejus obsequium converteret plebs Deo devota. This treasure then, bequeathed to our age by the wise forethought of our predecessors, must not be suffered to perish in oblivion ; but man should embrace with all the ardour of his desires the heritage with which God has endowed him. Let him who has acquired it not boast in himself as if it was his own conquest, but let him humbly and gratefully receive it in the Lord, from whom and by whom are all things, and without whom is nothing. Let him not hide it through envy in a sack, or in the silent recesses of his heart, but laying aside all boasting, with a cheerful mind let him dispense it with simplicity to all who ask for it ; and let him hear the evangelic sentence against the man who hid his lord's treasure instead of trading with it till he came. Dreading to incur that reproach, I, obscure and unworthy little man, offer gratuitously to those who with humility desire to learn what has been gratuitously granted to me by the divine mercy, whose favours, abundant for all, are not long waited for by any one ; and in order that my readers may recognize in me the goodness

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* S. Bonavent. De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam.

of God, and admire his generosity, I exhort and entreat them to believe, that if they join their assiduity to the reading of my work, similar results will be at their disposal; for as it is unjust and detestable in man to covet by any ambition things forbidden or undue, or to acquire it by violence, so to neglect or despise what belongs to us of right as an inheritance from God our Father, is ignorance and folly. Therefore whoever you be, dear son, into whose heart God has put it to explore the vast field of diverse arts, and to gather there what you like, do not reject precious and useful things, as if the paternal soil produced them for you of itself, and without his orders; and let not the facility with which you may acquire them in this book render you disdainful; for here you can learn what others only attain after many labours—aut diuturna ductorum fessi servitute—omnimodeque fatigati discendi desiderio."

When you have read and read again these things; whenever you make use of them in return for my precepts, I beg of you to pray for me to Almighty God, who knoweth that I have written neither through love of human praise nor desire of temporal reward; that I have kept back nothing through malignant jealousy, reserving it for myself alone, "sed in augmentum honoris et gloriæ nominis ejus multorum necessitatibus succurrisse et profectibus consuluisse[*]."

Again he writes as follows:—"In the preceding book, my very dear brother, through the affection of sincere love I laboured to teach you—quanti honoris quantumque perfectionis sit, otium declinare, et inertiam desidiamque calcare: and how sweet and delectable it is to apply to various arts, according to the author who saith,

'Scire aliquid laus est; culpa est, nil discere velle;'

nor let any one be disquieted by what Salomon saith—Qui addit scientiam addit laborem; for a diligent thinker will perceive what an immense advantage must result both of mind and body. For it is clearer than light, that whoever consults his ease consults frivolity, applies to vain fables or to scurrility, or to drinking and quarrelling, to fighting and luxury, and thieving and sacrilege, and perjury, and the like things which are hateful to God, who regardeth super humilem et quietum et operantem cum silentio in nomine Domini, et obedientem præcepto B. Pauli Apostoli; magis autem laboret operando manibus suis[†]." Such then is the wondrous light from heaven reflected upon the occupations of the workman when he turns his face to the Catholic Church; and can it be supposed that he will prove

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[*] Lib. i. Præfat. Diversarum Artium Schedula.

[†] Id. lib. ii. Prologus.

insensible to the attraction which must result from so noble an instruction as to the origin of all arts? Beholding thus in the most familiar labours, however low, a power that wrought "by ordered communings with light divine," he will learn to love the things that before were vile and common in his eyes, and to estimate at its true value the teaching which has brought him to a sense of his own dignity. But now having crossed this elevation so little expected, perhaps, on the road we follow, let us descend upon the other side, and observe the practical results of those high principles in the esteem and condition of the workman wherever social manners are formed by the Catholic faith. So early as the year 372, we behold the Church occupied with what is now termed the organization of labour; for in that year St. Basil founded his workshops for poor mechanics, a multitude of whom we find present a few years later at one of his homilies. In the middle ages the Church exalted trades into honourable corporations, and by every means encouraged, directed, and assisted men in the exercise of a laborious life. In 1202, we find an order, called of the Trinity under that of Premonstré, founded by William Escuacol, of which the object was to teach all sorts of trades to boys. In the middle ages, common manual labourers were not separated by an impassable barrier from the workmen of intelligence. The most learned men, like Petrarch and Dante, philosophers, orators, and poets, were known personally to the people, to artisans, and labourers, with whom they used to converse in the public places or in their shops. Alfieri found his best friend in a silk-mercer, Gori Gandellini. It would be long to speak of the distinctions with which the Church delighteth to honour labour. When her voice was heard in the counsels of the nation, workmen possessed patronage, privileges, immunities, freedoms; holy protectors were assigned to each corporation, who seemed to walk in the civil and religious ceremonies of the day, under the banner of the modest workman, interceding for it before God, after having been a model to it on earth. Dom Geronymo de Ustariz says, that formerly Seville alone contained sixteen thousand trades, employing forty-eight thousand workmen. Other Spanish cities showed the same proportions, and every workman lived happily *. Sandi † reckons sixty-one corporations of trades in Venice, which date from about the fourteenth century, all enjoying the same social advantages. "In Barcelona the corporations of trades were probably founded," says Balmes, "during the glorious reign of Don Jaime I." The working of iron alone maintained in that city twelve corporations of trades. From the middle of

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* Ustariz, Theor. et Prat. de Commerce et de Marine, c. 7.

† Hist. civile de Venise, t. ii. 1. lib. iv.

the thirteenth century Barcelona governed itself with a sort of popular independence; and trades were formed into corporations as in Italy, where trades were honourable in free cities, the artisan becoming often a senator, and the senator an artisan. The trades at Barcelona flourished under the same municipal system with that consular jurisprudence which is so favourable to commerce; and that city became one of the most celebrated centres of manufactures in the middle ages.

The rules of these corporations and confraternities were also spread through Flanders, France, and England. In Barcelona they conduced to the most important ends. The experience of five centuries proved that by means of them were preserved there, as an immortal deposit, the love, tradition, and memory of the arts: moreover, by means of their provision for the necessities of the indigent of each trade, the city enjoyed prosperity, all want and misery being banished from the workshops, and the workmen being preserved from poverty. Hence stability and credit resulted to each trade; want of ability in the manufacturer, or imposition in trade, being obviated. The trade corporations secured the public from injury, provided for the perfection of each article manufactured; provided for the masters, supplied them with funds at proper seasons, and secured for them a succession of intelligent disciples. Another great political advantage consisted in the esteem and consideration which resulted to the arts and artisans themselves. Workmen thus incorporated were respected as forming a visible and permanent order in the republic. These corporations succeeded in convincing all their members that each in its sphere required honour and virtue; and each trade was excited to preserve inviolably these treasures. In each trade were offices and honours to which the lowest member could aspire. Each had its own government, composed of the council of Prohombre's, which procured great respect for each. It is found that for these men pre-eminence in a fête or an assembly is able to sweeten the severity of corporal labour and the disadvantage of an inferior position. The trades by these means, instead of being wandering like the kettle-makers in Spain, were settled and firmly established.

Each trade was so important and respectable, that it was the custom to perpetuate the same in the same families. The people understanding that without leaving its class it could obtain the respect and consideration due to useful and honourable citizens, had no desire to depart from it, and no shame of their situation. Trades were honoured and hereditary, and furnished a sure provision for those who cultivated them; hence the transmission of solid manners, homogeneous with each state; work being honourable and esteemed. It is probable that these institutions were borrowed in Catalonia from the customs of Genoa, Pisa,

Milan, Pavia, Florence, Sienna, and other cities in which the municipal government was composed of the chiefs of the trades, under the name of consuls, counsellors, and priores artium. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, artisans were excluded from the government of no such city. This political importance conferred great honour on the mechanical professions. Such was the constitution of Barcelona till the beginning of the present century. To this day, both trades and tradesmen, arts and artisans, enjoy an unalterable esteem in Barcelona. A love for the mechanical professions is hereditary in many families; a sense of dignity and self-respect in the industrious population have been perpetuated by traditional manners, though the political importance in the government has been lost. Many of the trade brotherhoods preserve in the halls of their assembly the portraits of their members who were once distinguished in the government of the republic. Hence every one feels that the idea of honour and consideration are in character with the office of an artisan. No trade will suffer itself to be surpassed by another in probity and merit. Every workman and artisan in Barcelona enjoys the respect and consideration of the public. They feel under an obligation of conducting themselves with nobleness in their different employments. The example of their masters, who continued to live with their apprentices in a familiar community of feeling, confirms the boys in ideas of order, and in virtuous morals. The apprentice and workmen are, consequently, well dressed, and in a costume favourable to agility. They are not found in taverns; they have innocent recreations after fatigue,—the ring, boles, ball, fencing, and dancing. No artisan ever loses consideration in consequence of his trade; whether he works in silver or brass, in leather, or wood, or wool. No odious distinctions allow any trade to be considered less estimable. Every trade is respected and esteemed. Barcelona has never admitted the vulgar errors which elsewhere are able to prevent honourable persons from applying to arts, and sons from continuing the art exercised by their fathers *.

Here has been allusion to many features in the ancient life of labour as formed by the Catholic religion, which require a more detailed examination, in order to observe the avenues through which workmen are invited to pass to the Catholic Church as to the source from which their chief temporal as well as eternal good must flow. The rules with which Catholicity supplied them may be considered in their twofold character, as designed either to preserve the Christian elevation and honourable integrity of their state, or to secure for it the protection and the con-

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* Capmany, Mémoires historiques sur la Marine, le Commerce et les Arts de l'Antique, cité de Barcelone, 1779, ap. Balmes.

solations which it requires at all times, and which inno age have been less respected, or less extended to them, than in our own, in consequence of rejecting the Catholic solution of social problems. We have seen how exalted is the type; let us proceed, then, now to observe, in the first place, how careful is the Church to ennoble and reward the practice of the workman.

Not amerced of highest grace is the labourer who, docile to the Church, complies with the instructions which in confessionals are pressed upon his soul. The holy fathers declare that "to pray without ceasing, it suffices to love and desire always the eternal life with God*." "Laborandum est ergo corpore," as saith the ancient rule, "animi fixa in Deum intentione†." Labour is penance: consequently there is a high encouragement for enduring its hardships; and this is even expressed by the Breton peasant labourer's song ending, "Such is our life, our hard-enduring life; our lot is miserable; our condition painful; no rest by day or night; but let us bear it in patience, in order to arrive at Paradise‡." Labour is meritorious, and Catholicity supplies the assurance that it is so. "An old man in the desert," says the compiler of its examples, "who had to fetch water from a distance of twelve miles, sinking under the fatigue, saw behind him an angel, who said that he was occupied in numbering his steps§." "Non murmurando ullam operam facias," says the rule of St. Macarius; "non oderis laboriosam operam—lassus ad stratum tuum venias, et cum Christo requiescere te credas ||." After thus directing secretly the intention, the Catholic Church proceeded to suggest legislative enactments to promote the practical integrity of the workmen; and of these we find many instances in the "Livre des Métiers," by Étienne Boileau, which curious book contains the registry of the trades of Paris in the thirteenth century, or the rules enacted by the corporations for their own government, which used to be delivered in the presence of Stephen Boileau, who had them inscribed by a clerk, in a register, according to an ancient usage, of which we find trace in an edict of the year 864, respecting the corporation of silversmiths. The simplicity of some of these rules is combined with a most useful discretion. But let us hear them, as they are delivered. "Any person," says one of them, "can exercise this trade in tin vessels at Paris freely"—pour tant qu'il face bon œuvre et loial. He must never work at night, on pain of a fine to the king—quar la clartez de la nuit, n'est mie si soufisant que

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* Thomassin, Traité de l'Office divin, I. P. c. 2.

† Regula S. Isidori, c. 6.

‡ Hersart de la Villemarque, Chants pop. de la Bretagne.

§ Mag. Spec. 26.

|| Reg. S. Macar. ap. Luc. Holst. Cod. Reg.

il peussent faire bone œuvre et loial de leur mestier[*]. Nus cordiers ne puet œuvrer de nuit pour les fausses euvres que on i puet faire[†]. The bucklemakers ordain—que nus mestre ne doit souffrir entour li vallet qui ne soit bons et loiaus, ne réveeur ne mauvès garçon de quelque lieu qu'il soit. soit de Paris, ou d'ailleurs[‡]. The lacemakers ordain that no one shall work by night—pour les fauses œuvres que en i feit, et pour ce que la clartez de la chandoile ne souffist mie à leur mestier[§]. The general condition required in all the trades is expressed thus:—Pour tant que il face bonne oevre et loyal[||]. The silk mercers ordain—que nul ouvrier soit vallet ou mestre qui soit blasmés de houlerie ou de mauvése renommée, ou qui auroit esté banis d'aucun mestier ou d'aucun pays, ne puist ouvrer ou dit mestier, before being punished[¶]. Generally, in all trades, masters could employ their sons as apprentices, but—seulement nez de loial mariage[**]. Of stonemasons Master Guillaume swore—que il le mestier garderoit bien et loiaument à son pooir ausi pour le poure come pour le riche, et pour le foible come pour le fort. Every mason and plasterer swore that not only he would himself loyally observe the rules, but that he would inform the master if he should ever find any one in fault in any thing[††]. The stonemasons and plasterers must swear that they will put nothing in the plaster but the best materials, and that they will give good and loyal measure—that the mortar shall be made of good lias, and that if it be made of other stone they will pay a fine[‡‡]. The linendraper swears that he cannot have an apprentice—se il n'est si fil de léal espouse, ou ses frères ou ses niès nès de léal mariage[§§]. No draper should suffer near him, or near any other of the trade, any workman who lives immorally; and if any workman should be discovered having a vicious connexion in the suburbs, the prevot of Paris should be informed; and he will make him leave the city, or have him chastised for his folly[||||]. In the trade of tapiz nostrez, or coarse carpeting, no one shall employ any thread—fors que de file de laine bon et loial—Et ce ont establi li preudomes du mestier pour le commun profit de touz et pour léauté[¶¶]. Of the foulons, if any workman in the trade should discover that there is any fellow-servant who has been a bad character, he should make it known to the master, under pain of a fine[***]. The stocking-makers swear that they will use strong thread, which has not been rotted by the dye; for if the thread should be thus rotted, the stockings

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[*] Tit. xii.

[†] Tit. xiii.

[‡] Tit. xxii.

[§] Tit. xxxiv.

[||] Tit. xxxix.

[¶] Tit. xl.

[**] Tit. xlviii.

[††] Id.

[‡‡] Id.

[§§] Tit. l.

[||||] Id.

[¶¶] Tit. lii.

[***] Tit. liii.

shall be burned and the maker must pay a fine of five sous, four to the king, and the rest to the guardians of the trade, for their trouble[*]. No glover shall work by night—à clarté de feu ne de lumière, quar l'uevre qui est fête par nuit n'est ne bone ne léal[†]. In the bridle trade, if any old work be painted over and regilt, or mended, and exposed for sale, the work must be burned and the seller fined[‡]. Of linendrapers—nule qui soit eslongiés de son paiis por mauvès cas, l'en ne le doit recevoir on dit mestier[§]. In the trade of tapiz Sarrassin no one shall employ a strange workman until he knows that he is a preudome et loial[||]. Tailors were obliged to cut their cloth in an open shop, à la veue du peuple, to prevent any suspicion of fraud[¶]. Such are the rules to secure integrity, which may assuredly be said to form an opening through the dense thicket that reveals the force and practical character of the Catholic religion, since, wherever else we turn, there is such cause for complaining in those words of Dante:

> ———— "Why, thou cursed thirst
> Of gold! dost not with juster measure guide
> The appetite of mortals[**]?"

But if the justice of the rules furnish one avenue to the workman, enabling him to discern the true centre, their provision for his due repose and religious interests supplies another opening by which he may advance towards it with equal assurance; for most clearly do they proclaim the faithful spouse, who knows that though men should work as a religious duty, yet not so strictly hath our Lord imposed labour as to debar us when we need refreshment. The labour which Catholicity would impose on those immediately devoted to it, is, as we before observed, generally for all men, conducive, not destructive, to the health of bodies and souls; and the English poet contemplates no other, though he does not give praise where it is due. The Church only uses words like his, saying,

> "O mortal man! who livest here by toil,
> Do not complain of this thy hard estate;
> That like an emmet thou must ever moil,
> Is a sad sentence of an ancient date;
> And, certes, there is for it reason great.
> For, tho' sometimes it makes thee weep and wail,
> And curse thy star, and early drudge and late,
> Withouten that would come an heavier bale,
> Loose life, unruly passions, and diseases pale."

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[*] Tit. lv.

[†] Tit. lxv.

[‡] Ordonnances sur les Métiers, depuis 1270 jusqu'à l'an 1300.

[§] Tit. xix.

[||] Tit. xxiv.

[¶] Tit. xxvi.

[**] Purg. 22.

While infidelity imposes penal, such as human tribunals adjudge for criminals, Catholicism prescribes medicinal labour ; and the difference is sufficiently great to attract the attention of all observers ; for if religion, says the Archbishop of Cambray, knows how nobly to appreciate labour, she knows also how to regulate it. By the side of the law which imposes it, she has placed the law which moderates and controls it. Of the seven days, which compose the circle of the week, she abandons six to the labours of the body, to the solicitudes of material life, but she reserves one to satisfy the wants of the soul. She is acquainted with the extent of man's strength, and willing as she be that he exert it, she will not permit its exhaustion. She is also equally aware of the exigences of his twofold nature, and holds with a firm hand the balance between his various faculties, to maintain that equilibrium which would otherwise be soon destroyed by any predominance of the earthly over the supernatural and divine element. Let us add, that for the benefit of both master and workman, the religious observance of stated days of rest would be sufficient to solve the political and social problems which are presented for discussion by the new phases and probable destinies of industry. The conditions of wages, respect for the dignity of man and citizen, public security, guarantee against the degeneracy of the species and the impoverishment of generations, exact affinities between consumption and produce, all legislation, all the economy of labour, centre in observing holy days as Catholicity requires, while their renouncement will in time throw forth inexplicable themes for insurrections arguing.

This assertion is demonstrated by a very simple process of reasoning. Reduce the number of working days, and you proportionably raise the value of the labour done. The days of labour will thus feed the days of rest. With the same amount of wages, the workman will have the relaxation which repairs and renews his strength, the prayer which purifies, the word of God which consoles, the pleasures which moralize. Society would then no longer dread those coalitions, those popular insurrections, which too often terminate in blood-stained struggles. There might indeed follow from this observance a slight diminution in produce, but have we not as much to fear from its excess? An easy and regular flow would not occasion so frequently the clogging of the outlets, the sudden fall in the price of merchandise, those commercial crisises, those ruinous pauses, those hasty stoppages of the wheels of industry which leave without work and without bread entire populations of working men. Or, where after all would be the evil, if produce were abated? Is it necessary that the manufacturer arrive at a fortune in full gallop, with the promptitude of the steam that sets his machinery

to work? Are fortunes the most rapidly acquired the most durable?

So, while Protestantism and what is termed philosophy are either unwilling or unable to interfere for the effectual protection of children and women—for assuredly their measures are inadequate,—the prelates of France are thus raising their voice to protect both, and the interests of all classes against the cruel graspings of unbounded cupidity. Should every ear be deaf to their remonstrances, they will not be silent. They continue their exhortations, rebuking in season and out of season, and, without concealing from the workman the full extent of his duty, they not the less forcibly recal to the minds of those who hold his lot in their hands, the sacred duties of nature and humanity. They protest against that oppression of the feebleness of infancy, and the feebleness of the sex, imitating the worst days of pagan violence, which compelled the miserable parents to immolate, day and night, their sons and their daughters to the wicked spirits of machinery and manufacture, cruel Moloch, insatiable Mammon, which devour generations in the flower of youth, and smother within them every ray of mind, every germ of virtue. No, certainly, continues Geraud the archbishop, it will not be Catholicity, which has at all periods protested against the infamous traffic of African slaves; it will not be the religion of liberty and love that will suffer her own children to bow to the yoke that she removes with horror from the neck of the stranger and barbarian; and, if her motherly voice be despised, she will carry the cry of the oppressed even to the tribunal of God, who will render to every one according to his works.

But let us return to the ages when Catholicity universally prevailed, and to the rules of the thirteenth century. Late work forbidden, as we have just seen, through consideration for the interest of the consumers, was no less denounced as unlawful through regard for the needful repose of the workmen, who owe to Catholicity and the manners of faith, their exemption from the inhuman servitude to which the world, in their absence, is sure to subject them. Let us again hear Stephen Boileau. As for cutlers—nus ne puet ne ne doit ouvrer en charnage puis vespres sonans, ne en quaresme puis complie sonant *. Charnage signifies the whole year, with the exception of Lent. Beaters of brass or copper ordain that no master or servant, or apprentice in this trade, may work at night; and they are bound to leave off work each day at complin—pour ce que leurs mestiers est trop penibles †. No locksmith may work by night—quar la veue de la nuit n'est pas souffisante à faire si soutil œvre come il apartient au mestier de serreurie ‡. In

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* Tit. xvi. † Tit. xx. ‡ Tit. xviii.

the trade of wiremakers—li mestres et li vallet ont leur vesprées por eus reposer; c'est à savoir en quaresme quant complie est sonée, et en charnage au segont cricur du soir; et doivent aler les vallet chascun an 1 mois en aoust, si il vuelent*. In that of fringe-makers, no one shall work or cause to work in any season after the queuvre-feu is tolled at St. Merri, nor on Saturdays en charnage after the first toll for vespers at Nostre Dame, and in Lent after the toll for complin †. Among chaplet-makers all must leave work in charnage as soon as the bell of their parish church tolls for vespers, and in Lent at the first toll for complin in Nostre Dame ‡. The drapers' servants are to leave off work as soon as they hear the first toll of the bell for vespers in their parish church; but they may fold up their work after these vespers §. In the trade of the foulons the workmen have their vespers—li vallet ont leur vesprées; that is, they leave off work at the first toll of the bell of Nostre Dame for vespers in charnage, and in Lent at that for complin ‖. No currier shall work between Brandons ¶ and St. Remi after the tolling for complin at Nostre Dame—et se ont establi li preudome du mestier pour eus reposer, quar les jours sont lonc, et li mestier est trop pénables **. Among the makers of ladies' bonnets, or embroidered head-dresses, no mistress or apprentice may work in winter or summer, either morning or evening, unless with daylight ††. No maker of tapis Sarrazinois shall work after the first toll of the bell for vespers in his parish church under pain of a fine of five sous ‡‡. The workmen of Paris had no privilege over those of London in Catholic ages in this respect, though there were then some as now who would complain, as we can collect from Stowe, who says, "This bell of St. Mary Bow being usually rung somewhat late, as seemed to the young men 'prentices, and other in Cheape, they made and set up a rhyme against the clerk, as followeth:—

'Clarke of the Bow bell with the yellow lockes,
For thy late ringing thy head shall have knocks.'

Whereunto the clerk replying wrote,—

'Children of Cheape, hold you all still,
For you shall have the Bow bell rung at your will.'"

Mathieu Paris says, that "in 1256, when certain workmen in London were struck with lightning, some attributed the event to the circumstance, that on the day before they had been occu-

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* Tit. xxiv.

† Tit. xxxvii.

‡ Tit. xliii.

§ Tit. l.

‖ Tit. liii.

¶ The first Sunday in Lent.

** Tit. lxxxiii.

†† Tit. xcv.

‡‡ Ordonnances, &c. xxiv.

pied with servile works till an unlawful hour*." Thus far the rest enjoined is intended for the body chiefly; but the following rules indicate the care with which Catholicity seems to provide for the religious interests of the workman, by ordaining many intervals of repose to enable him to join with the rest of the faithful in the worship of God, and the sanctification of solemn days. The Catholic Church raises her voice against that detestable oppression of the conscience, when workmen are condemned to the cruel alternative either of yielding obedience to impious commands, or suffering their family to perish in the agonies of hunger—and also against that monstrous code of crimes and penalties, insolently arbitrary, which taxes prayer, submits to a certain tariff the hours devoted to Christian instruction, inflicts a penalty for assisting at divine service, and closes the door of the workshop against all who place some value on their souls, and will not sink to the level of the brute. "What!" exclaims Giraud, Archbishop of Cambray, "is it necessary that the workman perish, body and soul, that his master may rise rapidly to the summit of opulence? Is it absolutely requisite that the edifice of pride and ambition should be raised upon the ruins of degraded intellect, broken down health, perverted conscience, and souls lost for eternity?" At least such is not the Catholic judgment; and the laws and manners of past times, and the remonstrances of the Catholic clergy at the present day bear witness.

In the thirteenth century, in all trades, every kind of work ceased earlier on Saturdays and vigils than on other days, in order to prepare for celebrating the Sunday or the festival†. How charming is it still in England to meet the youth of the labouring population taking their pastime on the hills early in the afternoon of Saturday, according to the practice that has come down to us from Catholic times. The Sunday, and the festival, were for worship, adoration, and praise. In a curious old life of my lady St. Geneviève, we read, "On luy amena ung homme que la pugnition divine avoit aveugle pource qu'il besongnoit au dimanche." There were more than sixty days in the year that fresh bread was denied to all; for no baker could make bread on Sundays or great festivals.—Nul talmelier‡, ne doit cuire au dimenche ne au jour de Noël, ne lendemain, ne au tierc jour, mès au quar jour de Noël puet il cuire. Not on any great festival can he bake, such as the Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, or Nativity of our Lady; nor on any feast of apostle preceded by a vigil; nor on Easter Monday, nor on Whit Monday, nor on the feasts of the Holy Cross, nor on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist; nor on St. Martin

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* Ad ann. 1356. † Tit. xl. ‡ Baker.

in winter, nor on St. Nicholas in winter, nor on St. Mary Magdalen, St. James, St. Christopher, St. Laurence, SS. Philip and James, St. Denis, nor on All Saints or day of the dead, unless merely eschaudés to give for God, nor on the day of St. Geneviève. On the Mondays and the days after these festivals, as soon as the bell tolls for matins in Nostre Dame, they may bake*. The miller of the great bridge cannot work in the mill on Sundays, from the giving of the holy water in St. Liefroi till vespers are tolled in the same church †; and no silversmith can open his shop or forge on a feast of Apostles, or on Sundays, excepting in his turn; and whatever he gains whose turn it is to open then, is to be put into the box of the confraternity of silversmiths, which contains all the pence of God thus made by each silversmith in his turn, selling or buying on these days, and all the money of this box is to be spent by giving a dinner on Easter Sunday to the poor of the Hôtel Dieu of Paris ‡. Nus cordiers ne puet œuvrer à nul jour de feste que li commun de la vile faise—that the commonality of the town celebrate, and this is the general provision §. No plumber or maker of tin mirrors—ne doit ouvrer au dimanche ne a nul jour de feste que quemun de vile faise ‖. Of those who make patenotriers of gold or horn—et si est ordené au mestier que tuit cil du mestier doivent lesier huevre touz les samedis de l'an et toutes les veilles des festes que l'en jeune, au tiez coup de vespres qu'il orroit sonner en la parroiche où il demeurent ¶: and of those who make patenotriers of amber, no one shall work on festivals, nor on Saturdays after nones, nor on a vigil with a fast, excepting before none **. The ordinances of the master carpenters, which Master Fouques of the Temple and his predecessors have used and maintained in time past, were no less express on this head. Master Fouques says, first of all, that at the time when the mastership of the trade was conferred on him, all masters used to be sworn never to work on Saturdays after nones tolled at Nostre Dame on the great bell ††. This simple testimony of an individual, delivered in the Parloir-aux-Bourgeois, in presence of the prevot, which thus formed the statute, shows how all these registers were generally made. In the trade of the foulons all work must cease on Saturdays at first toll for nones in Nostre Dame; and on the night of the Ascension, when the criers cry wine for supper, and on the eves of Pentecost and of St. Peter, and on the eve of St. Laurence, and on that of the Assumption as soon as the first crier goes round, and on Easter Eve as soon as the bells toll ‡‡. Warm baths must be closed on

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* Tit. i.

† Tit. ii.

‡ Tit. xi.

§ Tit. xiii.

‖ Tit. xiv.

¶ Tit. xxvii.

** Tit. xxix.

†† Tit. xlvii.

‡‡ Tit. liii.

Sundays and festivals*. If any one at the trade of wood for saddles should work by night, or on a festival, the work shall be burned and the maker fined †. No maker of fine shoes, chavetonnier, shall work by night, or on Saturdays after vespers at St. Oportune, and if any one should do so the work is to be burned ‡. No swordsman shall sell on Sundays—por ce que dimenche est jour de repos, et doit-on oir le service nostre seigneur §. By a statute in 1323, no mégissiers could expose anything out of his shop on Sunday, unless from a window so high that a man could not reach it with his hand; otherwise the goods were forfeited ||. The religious interests of the lowest labourers are provided for in the Roman pontifical, which, in the general order for holding synods, admonishes the clergy by the pontiff in these words, "Porcarios et alios pastores, saltem dominicâ die faciatis venire ad missam ¶."

It would be needless to pursue these details further, or observe that the same manners and enactments prevailed over Europe. In the statutes, for instance, of the silversmiths of Sienna, adopted in 1361, we read, that they must observe the Sundays and festivals under pain of a fine, which will be heavier for the masters than for the workmen, to whom they should give example **. And in the Magnum Speculum there is allusion to similar manners in Germany, though in an example which denotes also their neglect by some. "In Germany," it relates, "a certain knight sent some labourers to mow his meadows on the vigil of a saint. They mowed till evening, but when the bells sounded for vespers, one of the mowers said, 'Let us leave off, for they toll for vespers.' The others mocked him and refused; but he ceased mowing and went to the church to vespers, leaving his portion of the work unfinished. On the third day, seeing the others so far advanced, and of his part so little done, he was derided; but, bearing all meekly, he began to mow, and stooping down found a gold coin in the grass; kneeling down he blessed God. The others ran to see what had happened, as did also the knight, who admired the benignity of God in rewarding the poor man who had shown reverence to a holy day ††." Indeed in the same work instances are related to show that Catholic workmen and masters were inclined to consider the intervals of prayer no less efficacious towards the attainment of their temporal object than those of work, and even in consequence as conferring a title to the same remuneration. "There was a poor workman," we read there, "living and supporting his wife and children by

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* Tit. lxxiii. † Tit. lxxix. ‡ Tit. lxxxv.

§ Ordonnances sur les Métiers depuis 1270 jusqu'à 1300, x.

|| Id. xxix. ¶ Ordo ad Synodum.

** Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli xiv. xv. xvi. publicatod al Dott. Giov. Gaye. Firenze. †† Mag. Spec. 299.

his labour; who, going very early one morning with other labourers to his work, passing a church went in and heard mass, and prayed to God to enable him by honest labour to support his family. When he came out, all the labourers were hired, so he returned disconsolate to his house without bread or money. Meeting soon after a rich citizen, who asked why he did not work, he related what had happened. The rich man thought that his prayers must then be good, and he said, 'Go to church again, and at the end of the day I will give you the same pay as to my labourers: only pray for me.' He went, and prayed devoutly, and in the evening he had ten denarii like the others, and a loaf of bread besides. The rich man was admonished afterwards that he had not given him enough. So the next day he gave him twelve denarii and a loaf; but still being admonished to augment it, he gave him the next time five parisienses, and finally increased it to an hundred solidi and a vest. That night our Lord appeared to him, and said, that unless that poor man had prayed for him, he would have died that very night, and have been doomed to hell. The rich man became truly penitent, amended his life, and gave large alms in future, and frequented the churches *."

Another example is thus related:—" Three brothers went to reap; and they were set to a space of sixty modii; but one of them, the first day, fell sick, and returned to his bed. And the other two said, 'Let each of us add a little to our share, and trust in God, and by his prayers we shall be able to accomplish his work also.' So having reaped the whole, they proceeded to receive their wages, and called their brother to receive his share with them. He declined, saying that he had not laboured; but they insisted, saying that it was by means of his prayers they were able to reap the whole in the time; and after much contention they compelled him to receive his pay †."

But we should not take leave of the ancient rules of workmen supplied by Catholicity without observing some more express instances of their tenderness and solicitude in securing the interests of the weak, and in protecting them from the injuries to which they might otherwise, as in recent times, wherever faith is extinct, have been exposed. Since we entered upon this road the millowners of England have declared their opinion before the minister of state, that to limit the work of children and women in manufactories to ten hours in the day, is a pernicious yielding " to a morbid sentiment of humanity." For such men Catholicity must be pregnant with disease for the human intelligence. So morbid were the minds it formed, that we can find no trace of any occasion in the middle ages for legislative inter-

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* Mag. Spec. 260.

† Id. 100.

ference to reduce the number of hours of labour for either women or children. We do however find proof that the general interests of both were objects of careful vigilance, as they are still, wherever a Catholic priest, or member of a conference of St. Vincent de Paul, can penetrate with effect. Thus the workers in crystal and precious stones ordain that no widow of the trade who carries it on after the death of her seigneur can take an apprentice—quar il ne semble pas au preudeshomes des mestier, que fame peust tant savoir du mestier, que ele souefesist à aprendre l enfant tant que il en feust mestre ; quar leur mestier est moult subtil *. If the apprentice of a linendraper should leave through his master's fault, he or his friend should apply to the masters of the trade, and they shall call the master of the apprentice before them, and censure him, and command him thenceforth to keep the apprentice honorablement come filz de preudome, de vestir et de chaucier, de boivre et de mangier, et de toutes autres choses ; and if he does it not within fifteen days, the apprentice shall have another master, or be provided for by the master of the trade †. The curriers ordain —se aucun aprentis se marie dedens le terme que il a promis à servir son mestre, et il ne vueille mangier au disner ne au souper chiez son mestre, il doit avoir chascun jour ouvrables iii. deniers pour sa pâture ‡. In the trade of tapis Sarrazinois it is ordained, that—nul ne puisse prendre aprentis se il ne le puet tenir come l'on doit faire enfant de preudome §. The workmen foulons are to breakfast in charnage with their masters, at the hour of prime ; and if they wish to breakfast elsewhere, they may ; only after dinner they should come to work without waiting one for the other beyond measure ||. The swordmakers ordain that " no master shall employ a workman if he has not a clean dress ; for counts, and barons, and knights, and great men, often visit their shops ¶." The chiefs of manufactories in France have been accustomed in all ages to invite their workmen and apprentices to occasional banquets, at which they provided the best wines and meats. Others lodge them in vast dormitories, and build hospitals near them for the sick **. With regard to the trade of tapis Sarrazinois—nule fame ne puet ne ne doit estre aprise au mestier, pour le mestier qui est trop greveus ††. This prohibition is repeated in later ordinances, for the reason—pour les périz qu'il i ont ; for there may be danger, if with child, et pour moult d'autres périz qui y sont et pueent avenir ‡‡. Poor tradesmen were protected against the rich by many statutes, and

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* Tit. xxx.

† Id. l.

‡ Id. lxxxiii.

§ Ordonnances, &c. xxiv.

|| Tit. liii.

¶ Ordon. &c. x.

** Egron, Livre de l'Ouvrier, 211.

†† Tit. li.

‡‡ Id. xxiv.

enabled to purchase without increase of price in consequence of articles being first bought up by the rich tradesman*. Poor people who could not sell in their own houses, which were in out-of-the-way streets, had the privilege to sell their wares through all the streets of Paris†. Thus we read, "No one can hawk armour for sale through the streets, excepting poor men who cannot sell it in their own houses, and who can swear that it was made by himself in his own house‡." In 1207, King Philip decreed as follows:—"Having learned that women and other poor miserable persons are accustomed to sell mercery and other minute articles in the street near the wall of the cemetery of the Holy Innocents, where we have lately constructed our halls, we, wishing that these halls should not serve to their injury, permit that persons should continue to sell in future as they have been accustomed in times past." Such is the truly charitable spirit towards these poor tradespeople, evinced by a royal ordinance in a Catholic kingdom§.

The ancient rules in general indicate careful provision to maintain union, charity, and piety in the walks of trade and labour, and consequently furnish another opening to the Church, from which the spirit of such enactments emanates. Thus, of the foulons it is said, "Que toutes ces convenances entre les maistres et les varlets sont faites par paix faisant, et par bon amorer d'une partie et d'autre ||." Of hatters, too, we read, that no apprentice is to be hired against his master in things of the trade, in order that contention and anger may not arise between them¶. The charity of the workman is indicated by many rules. Thus, in the trade of tapis Sarrazinois, all fines paid are to be given to the poor of the Holy Innocents, in which church the confraternity had its chapel**. No saddler can have more than two apprentices besides his own child,—ou aucune poure persone à qui il le facent pour Dieu proprement, sans convenance d'argent ne de service††. No chapuiseur, or maker of the wood for saddles, can have more than two apprentices, unless it be his own child, or some poor boy whom he wishes to teach for God's sake without money‡‡. Of shoemakers, part of the fines for infringing the rules are to sustain the poor of the trade§§. The fines of glovers also are to support the poor of their confraternity||||. All that was enacted by the common consent of all the master foulons was por le commun profit du mestier et du commun peuple¶¶. In the royal letters of Jean I. dated from Villers Côte-de-Retz, in 1362, relative to the confraternity of the drapers of Paris, the first article is thus entitled—"Que

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* Tit. xxviii. † Id. x. ‡ Id. xi. § Id. xxvi.

|| Ordon. xxii. ¶ Tit. xci. ** Id. li. †† Id. lxxvii.

‡‡ Tit. lxxix. §§ Id. lxxxiv. |||| Id. lxxxviii. ¶¶ Ord. xxii.

de chacun drap ou pièce de drap que le confrère achète il doit un denier parisis aux pauvres[*]." Piety and devotion are also indicated and enjoined by the ancient rules. The fines paid in the confraternity of wiremakers by any one infringing the rules of the trade, were to be spent in buying oil for the lamp in the chapel of certain friars on the Quay, which belonged later to the Augustins[†]. Those paid by stonemasons for infringing their rules were to be given to the chapel of St. Blaise, their patron[‡]. The least indication of an unhallowed spirit is combatted; therefore in the trade of image-makers and painters, it was ordained—que nule fause ouevre del mestier ne doit estre arse pour les révérances des sains et des saintes, en quel ramenbrances elles sont faites.

In fine, the privileges attached to certain trades point to ancient Catholic achievements, or to a general disposition to favour and exalt labour. " Li mortelliers sont quite du gueit, et tout tailleur de pievre, très le tans Charles Martel, si come li preudome l'en oï dire de père à fil[§]." This declaration of the masons, that Charles Martel exempted them from the watch, is curious, for it shows that as he gained the title of Martel in consequence of restraining the enemies of Christendom, he gave a privilege to those whose instrument was a hammer. In this trade of tapis Sarrazinois there is an exemption from the watch—car leur mestier n'apartient qu' aus yglises, et aus gentishomes, et aus hauz homes, et par tèle reson avoient-il esté frans[||]. The preudomes say that they had never been obliged to serve on the watch in this trade, except when the king was beyond sea, but that Madame the queen Blanche, whom God absolve, chose to make them watch[¶]. In general, char de confracrie ne d'aumone ne doivent noiant[**]. All trades had privileges and high officers to protect the members. There used to be the king of the mercers, in the time of Charlemagne, the privileges of which officer lasted till the time of Francis I. The carpenters' workmen used to be styled bachelors, as students in the university[††]. To many trades there was a curious bond connecting them with nobler associations. Thus the makers of clasps for books, who formed a corporation of trade in the thirteenth century, participated in the dignity of booksellers, who were styled clercs-libraires, as they in turn partook of the dignity of the clergy. Saddlers were joined with painters in confraternity, as the art of blazon required[‡‡]. Li preudome ymagier paintre was ennobled by his connexion with the churches. However, on the Wednesday, apres les Brandons MCCCIII, it was established, que nus

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[*] Egron, Livre de l'Ouvrier ap. J. 236.

[†] Tit. xxiv.

[‡] Tit. xlviii.

[§] Id. xlviii.

[||] Id. li.

[¶] Id. liii.

[**] Id. ii.

[††] Egron, &c. p. 72.

[‡‡] Id. lxxviii.

ymagiers fors ceus qui taillent ymages de sains ne seront tenus pour ymagiers.

But now, turning from this investigation of ancient Catholic rules and statutes, let us observe the wide avenue opening to the Church produced by the character which Catholicity imparted to the workman himself, whose virtues and honours, under its influence, cannot fail to attract all persons in that state who must desire to see men who are treading their own especial road of life, enjoying the benefits of an honourable fame.

We have already seen how many names of persons in this condition are immortalized in sacred dypticks as being among the eminent friends of God; and here we should observe not so much that the saint was a workman, as that the common workman was often a saint. The blessed Peter of Sienna was a comb-maker, celebrated for his alms and for his love of the poor. At his death, in 1289, the government of that city erected for him a superb mausoleum. Saints Justa and Rufina, of Seville, were maidens who lived by the sale of earthenware, which they made with their own hands. St. Fazius of Verona was a silversmith, at the end of the twelfth century, who had so won the esteem of the citizens of Cremona during his abode there, that on being persecuted in his native city when he returned to it, they would not give assistance to the Veronese in war excepting on condition of his being restored to liberty. St. Thibaud was apprentice to a shoemaker at Alba, a town between Asti and Chérasco. On the death of his master he made a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostello, to pray for his soul, begging his bread as he went.

So common was the saintly character among workmen in times past, that, as we have already partly seen, repeated instances of their example are proposed to stimulate monks and men of religious perfection to practise with greater fervour and contentment the virtues of their state. Indeed this was an early resource. "Consider," says St. Ephrem, "fishermen who pass all the night watching; and think of potters and carpenters, and of their immense labour and patience, while without being troubled either with smoke or dust, but in a clear holy place, we are employed in spiritual exercises *. Are you working at sandals? think of leather-cutters and those who make them for sale. Are you making a mat? think of those who cut marble. Are you making a box or a bag? think of carpenters. Are you making any inlaid work? think of artisans in pottery or wood. Are you superintending the oven? think of lictors. Are you working in a garden? think of fullers, who work in the water, winter and summer. Are you appointed to the kitchen? think

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* Parænceses ad Monachos, xxi.

of workers in brass, who labour over furnaces day and night *. "When blessed Anthony," says the historian of the fathers, "prayed in his cell, he heard a voice, saying, 'Anthony, y have not yet reached the measure of a tanner in Alexandria. The next day, taking up his staff, the old man departed to the city, and when he came to the tanner's house, he entered, and asked him to describe his manner of life, as he had left the desert to learn it from him. The tanner replied, that he was not aware of his doing any good. 'Therefore,' he added, 'when I rise in the morning, before I sit down to work, I say that all this city, from the youngest to the oldest, will enter the kingdom of heaven, while I, for my sins, deserve eternal punishment; and I say the same thing in the evening before I lie down, and I believe from my heart what I say.' 'It is enough,' said blessed Anthony, 'I understand my vision †.'" All through the middle ages we find urged upon all men the same considerations. "Love labour," says Drexelius, "think of labourers; look at artisans and workmen, observe with what labour and industry, and early rising, they seek their end ‡." Marina d'Escobar describes a vision, from which it would appear that the hardships suffered by the common people in their various employments are accepted in place of formal penance by the divine mercy. "After seeing four angels presenting heavy crosses to four different kinds of persons, she beheld," she says, "a fifth angel, who fixed his cross in an astonishing manner in the ocean, and went about seeking to find some one who would adore it; and when all those who navigated saw the cross, they, unlike the others upon land, the nobleman, for instance, and the hermit, were terrified, and seeking to avoid it directed back their course. The angel waited long, and seeing no one come, he took it up from the water and returned with it to heaven, and presented it to God, saying, 'There is no one, O Lord, upon the sea who will embrace thy cross.' To whom the Lord mildly answered, 'No one? I am not surprised, for that creature of water is very terrible and formidable. In that they lose their lives and property, and in that they endure enormous calamities and hardships. Therefore I wonder not that sailors should decline the cross. Return and exhibit to them another lighter cross and sweeter, and then see whether you can find any who will embrace it.' The angel obeyed, formed a light slender cross of the colour of celestial blue, and erected it on the sea. Then some navigators on their voyage, seeing that light sweet cross, sailed up to it and embraced it, the angel placing it on their shoulders, and promising to accompany them; and so that mystery was

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* Id. 47.

† De Vita SS. Patrum.

‡ Rosæ Select. Virtut. P. i. c. 8.

finished *." Can anything be more charming, more full of consolation for all, whether sufferers or observers of the hardship of a sea life, than this vision? Catholicism thus sweetens a laborious existence, by representing its burden as meritorious, while it directs men of the highest ranks to learn patience, and a love of sacrifice from observing the mortifications of the laborious population, and the admirable spirit with which they are endured. For, in fact, how admirable is that spirit! Who has not been moved by observing it even when the right intention fails? What will it be when joined with it? Let us cite a few examples, taken by chance as we may meet them here, wandering on this road of our forest. We may find before long something that should direct the most insensible, as the following narrative by an historian of the Benedictines will prove, setting before us an image of the virtues of that rural population which the Theodosian code so beautifully qualifies, as innocens et quieta rusticitas †. " A certain wicked wretch, Munius or Nunius, in the Sierra Morena, lived by plundering travellers. One day roaming along the road, lo! a certain rustic driving two oxen, about to cultivate a neighbouring field, passed that way. The robber felt a kind of curiosity in watching this man. The rustic, who was pious, on coming to the place knelt down on both knees, and raising up his callous palms to heaven, prayed thus aloud : ' I beseech thee, O eternal Lord, to multiply this grain which I am about to sow, that I may be able to nourish my family, and to give alms to the poor and to the churches. Hear me, I beseech thee.' The robber heard him, and the merciful Lord converted these words into arrows which pierced his heart, so that he became a new man on the spot; and, like another Saul, he who had before only breathed havoc and death to Christians, felt struck by Heaven. Then, contrasting his own wicked life with the laborious, pious course of the peasant, he felt overwhelmed with confusion, and resolved to turn thenceforth with all his heart to God. He spent the rest of his life in a cave, living as a hermit in great austerity; the cavern, which he hollowed out in the rock, serving afterwards for many other hermits who settled there ‡." With what piety the parents of St. Catherine of Sienna, cloth-dyers, James Binincasa and Lapa Piaganti brought up their family, may be inferred from a moving anecdote; for one of his daughters on her marriage, hearing her husband use improper language, was so grieved that she fell sick, and in answer to his inquiries as to the cause, replied, " I have never heard such words in my father's house. My parents brought me up differently, and

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* Vit. Ven. Virg. Marin. P. i. lib. iii. c. 18.

† Lib. i. t. 55. leg. iii.

‡ Antonio de Yepes, Chronic. Gen. Ord. S. Benedict. tom. i.

I shall die if you do not change your manner of conversation[*]. To this hour the manners of the workman and the labourer wherever the Catholic faith predominates, bespeak the same spirit. In Lord Carnarvon's admiration of the Spanish and Basques peasants, under the influence of that priestly government which is so continually denounced as certain to extinguish every high and manly energy, all dispassionate and generous observers will participate, whether the scenes of their travels have been Spain or Portugal, Brittany or Flanders, Ireland, or perhaps amidst the Catholic workmen of Lancashire. England, even in comparatively recent times, may boast of martyrs among her labouring sons; and if the stranger might allude to his own associations, he would express joy to add that they were furnished by the particular class to which he once was all but an apprentice, namely, the Thames watermen; for when the Rev. Mr. Watson was confined in Bridewell for being a priest, two Catholic watermen of the Thames assisted him to escape. They came with their boat between two and three in the morning, and carried him off after he fell from his window. Then they received him into their house, and kept him till his leg broken by that fall was well. Soon after, one of these men was arrested on suspicion, committed, and condemned; and as he refused to go to what they called Church to save his life, he suffered death with great spiritual joy[†]. The London apprentice in the days of Caxton was a staid, sober, moral youth, who, although of gentle blood, as the regulations for the admittance of freemen required him to be, was roughly clothed and subjected to the performance of even household drudgery. He had his confraternities, his devout exercises, like the French or Italian workboy. In pious liberality no trade seems to have been wanting. In the thirteenth century a distinguished plumist of Paris, named Geneviève la Paonière, consecrated to a chapel of her patron the money which she gained in satisfying the coquettish vanity of the rich persons of her sex[‡]. The workmen in general were reverent, impressionable to holy influences. In 1614, when the shrine of St. Geneviève, which had been injured by repeated processions, was to be repaired, being removed into a hall adjacent to the church, the workmen worked at it bare-headed[§]. Fidelity and attachment to his master is another characteristic of the Catholic workman. Lord Carnarvon having persuaded the landlord of his inn at Lisbon to accompany him on a distant journey, a lad about eighteen years of age rushed from the house and threw himself into his master's arms, exclaiming, as the tears

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[*] Vie de St. Cath.

[†] Challoner.

[‡] Tit. lxxvi. Livre des Metiers.

[§] Le Roux de Lincy, Les Femmes célèb. de l'an. France, i. 50.

rolled rapidly down his cheeks, "My master, my dear master, why are you going to leave us?" "Feelings of this kind," adds the noble traveller, "would hardly in England have existed between persons standing in the relative positions of master and apprentice, or if they did, would not have been permitted to manifest themselves so." Loyalty to their king, and piety towards Heaven, entered into the character of the ancient workman. Those artisans of Paris, whom we have so lately passed, may have been remarked thus speaking of their sovereign always with tender respect. It was, La Roine Blanche qui Diex absoille, or, The good King Phillipp*. Among the butchers of Paris who played so eminent a part under Charles VI., many were devout men, and all were affectionate towards their parish church of St. Jacques. In the registers of that church we find, that the butcher Alain purchased a little hole in the wall, une lucarne, two fingers long and two broad, to enable him to hear mass from his own house; and the butcher Haussecul purchased a key of the church, in order to say his prayers there when he chose†. At this day, in France, men of this trade could be named who bring up their children like saints in a cloister. The stranger knew at least one such family at St. Germain, a model of a holy household. The stained glass windows of the old cathedral were the gift of the artisans of different trades; and, in order to express it, their signatures consisted of a certain number of divisions, appropriated to a representation of their respective occupations. Thus under each of the magnificent windows of Bourges you see the masters and boy apprentices at work in their trade. The first great window of that cathedral, of the New Testament, was given by the butchers; the same subject at Chartres, by the smiths; the window of St. Thomas at Bourges, by the stone-cutters; that of the prodigal son, by the tanners; that of the passion of Jesus Christ, by the skinners and farriers; that of the good Samaritan, by drapers and weavers; that of the Apocalypse, by the chevaliers d'Occident, having no signature, but the whole aspect of the composition recalling their ceremonial; that of the last judgment, by the clergy; that of St. Stephen, by the fountain-makers, or water-conductors; that of Lazarus and Dives, by the masons; that of Joseph sold by his brethren, by the carpenters and coopers; that of St. Magdalen at Chartres, by the water-carriers; that of St. James the Greater and St. John, at Bourges, by the bakers; that of St. Stephen, by the shoemakers; that of St. Ursin, by the inlayers or toymen; that of St. Sulpicius Severus, by the butchers; that of St. William the Archbishop, by Mathilda de Courtenai, his relation, who is represented kneeling at his feet. This is the only window of

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* Tit. 1.

† Michelet, Hist. de France, iv. 229.

that age, at Bourges, which announces the intervention of nobility, and which has a character of individuality; and here the relationship with the saint seems to furnish the excuse. Similarly at Chartres, the popular signatures of the windows form the great majority; and, by a comparison with later times, it would be easy to show that consideration for the people and the popular influence have been constantly on the decline since the ages of greatest faith *. As charitable as they are devout, the Catholic workmen are good Samaritans, fathers of the poor, founders or benefactors of hospitals. De Pins, archbishop of Lyons, who passed his last years in the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse, told a priest of Versailles, that when he resided in Lyons, hardly a day passed without some workmen in the silk trade bringing him alms for the poor. "I have received secretly," he added, "as many as 40,000 francs from simple artisans of the city to give to the poor †." Many French workmen having risen to affluence have devoted their revenues to founding hospitals for sick workmen and for the aged, and other institutions for their advantage. The gratuitous school of drawing in Paris was founded by Bachelier in 1763, which he opened with 1500 scholars, children of the poor, to whose education there he devoted the 60,000 francs he had saved by his own labour ‡. "Notwithstanding the decay of piety, there are still in France," says the Archbishop of Cambray, "several manufactories, and our diocese contains a great number, where the master looks upon his workmen with a paternal solicitude, husbands his strength during health, assists him in sickness, succours him in old age, procures for him the means to employ and increase his savings, takes under his protection the widow and the orphan, and opens to infancy the fountains of instruction. But there are others still more estimable, who, not content with looking after his material prosperity, for they are masters full of conscience and of faith, disdain not to occupy themselves with his soul, to instruct him in his duties, to woo him to practise them by the persuasion of example, and, considering him as a member of their family, as a son of their own house, look upon him with the same lively interest that they bear to their own flesh and blood. With them, the dangers threatening morality are overcome by wise precautions, and the maintenance of a severe discipline. By them the Sunday is respected, and at the first sound of the bell which announces its return, the busy labour ceases, every machine stands still, as if the main spring were suddenly broken. With them no work commences before every tongue and every heart have united in an unanimous prayer, and it is

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* Monog. de Bourges, 286. † Egron, Livre de l'Ouvrier, 380.
‡ Id. 265.

again by a prayer in common that the daily toil closes and is crowned. Happy workshops, honourable manufactories, which recal to mind the holy traditions of patriarchal life! May the blessing of heaven and earth ever repose upon you! His work is honourable and glorious, and his justice endureth for ever. May you flourish and prosper more and more, to teach the age that it calumniates industry, when supposing it irreconcileable with the precepts of religion!" France, since these lines were written, has beheld the rise of a colony intended to serve as model for other establishments where such manners are to be transmitted, founded by a woman already immortalized for her works of faith, and who for ten years had meditated how she might procure for workmen, all over the world, the means of reconciling their labour with a life of piety, and the enjoyment of all their legitimate affections. Such are the inspirations of Him —qui solus novit congruentem suis temporibus generi humano exhibere medicinam *.

In fine, we observe upon this road, directing to the Catholic Church, the signal which consists in the happy condition of the workman in regard to his maintenance, and in his exemption from the want and misery to which he is exposed, when industry is pursued without the charitable and moderating influence of divine faith. The trees of the wood sometimes kill one another with their shade or their density, and, as Pliny says, by their depriving each other of nourishment †. This is not the case in the moral forest if it is placed under the superintendence of the Church, as we must now proceed to observe. "In past ages," says the Archbishop of Cambray, "the defenders of Christianity, occupied exclusively with the truths which it proposes for our belief, and the law with which it moderates our passions, neglected perhaps too much to demonstrate the benefits which it had conferred on civil and political life, the ameliorations it had introduced into the laws, arts, institutions, and public morals. The present age has atoned for that omission. There is no aspect under which the Christian religion has not been held up by the eloquent orator or painter to the admiration or gratitude of the world. And thus it should be. When faith ruled every mind, it was necessary only to look upon its divine side. But in this age of scepticism, of practical materialism, of absolute indifference to all that touches not the interest of the moment, it is necessary to create an interest for religion in consideration of the temporal advantages she has showered on the world." The Church loves the workman; and not content with creating for his assistance conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, associations of St. Francis Regis, of St. Francis Xavier, of St. Joseph, and the

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* St. August. † N. H. xvii. 10.

institution of our Lady of the Angels, she teaches that he should be well remunerated for his labour; so that the master who is docile to her instruction would resemble in that respect Lysander, who being desired by Cyrus to ask whatever he wished as it should be granted, replied, that he wished the sailors of Cyrus should thenceforth receive four obols per day instead of only three. We find in old documents many proofs of the generous liberality in this respect which Catholicity inspires. Thus the silversmiths and their men, who worked at the shrine of St. Germain for that abbey, were promised an allowance during the year that they were employed, as follows: "Every day, whether they worked or not, there was to be a loaf and a pint of wine for every two men for breakfast; and for dinner, soup, with a piece of beef or mutton, two loaves, and a pint of wine. They were to have the same again for supper; and on days of abstinence each man was to have two herrings, three eggs, with cheese and soup. They were to have plenty of wood for firing during winter, and candles to light them to bed*." But it would be endless to multiply such details. Upon the whole, if any one should propose the system of the modern economists, in contrast with that of the Catholic employers, I should be content to call the first wood-cutter in the forest, or the first workman of any class that travels through it, and ask him to decide between us, though indeed an oak, but with one green leaf on it, would have answered the question in our favour. It must not be forgotten, that the workman in Catholic times has the benefit resulting from all the principles which faith employs in the organization and government of the whole social state, as well as in the conduct of the individual. Catholicism, by its doctrines and its pure morality, wards off the sources of distress, and indeed of all calamity arising out of his position, from the labourer; and the consequence is, that his life is tranquil and secure. Ars illi sua census erat†.

Before the revolution in France the workman was better fed than he is now; and we know that in England, during the reign of Henry VII., neither agricultural nor commercial distress was ever heard of, it being expressly recorded, on the best evidence, that no labourer wanted proper food for himself and for his family. The diminution of the consumption of meat in Paris has been constantly on the increase since the year 1789, when that decrease became first discernible‡. In Italy, and Spain, and Germany, Catholicity secured the comfort of the labouring classes. Marineus Siculus says, "We have known many shep-

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* Chavan. de Malan. Hist. de D. Mab. 263.

† Met. iii. 10.

‡ Le Ménagier de Paris, Introd. Note de l'Editeur.

herds in Spain, each of whom possessed more than 30,000 sheep [*]. The people of Complutum," he says, " abounds with all things to such a degree, that want is unknown in all that region [†]." In Italy we have seen how peasants were proprietors of land, as Niebuhr found to have been the case at Tivoli before the French revolution. In France itself, in the thirteenth century, the great object of the police was to keep the markets well supplied, and accessible to all classes of society—" pour que le pauvre homme puisse prendre part avec les riches," as say the registers of Stephen Boileau [‡]. The life of labour delivered thus from the long pressure of obscure distress, which now so often causes nature to sink, with no temporal assistance to expect but only what can be derived from such wise counsels as advise it to be strenuous for the bright reward, and in the soul admit of no decay, was then, as it will ever prove under the influence of Catholicity, a life of enjoyment, a life which rich men might, and often actually did envy; for, as Egron remarks, " if education were to develop in each child its natural tastes, we should almost always see the children of the rich take a pleasure in different labours, such as are followed by the sons of the poor, as masonry, carpentry, smithery, and saddlery [§]." In fact who can, without a certain shame, sit idle at his ease in a boat, and not take an oar with others; or remain softly reclined on the grass while workmen toil near him? or visit, dressed in holyday attire, a workshop, and pompously walk on, a mere inactive gazer, and feel courage to look the busy laborious apprentice in the face? There are times when labour has thus its privilege, appearing so commendable and fair that those who seem exempt from its obligations must feel actually abashed in its presence. " Think not we would insinuate," says Giraud, Archbishop of Cambray, " that if man had preserved his innocence, his days would have rolled on in the languor of an eternal sloth. The wonderful powers of his body and soul render the supposition impossible. No, that thought which explores essences, examines bearings, analyzes and combines elements; that will, ever on the wing, unceasingly demanding fresh food for its consuming flame, and existing, if I may use the expression, only by action and movement; no, that body so harmoniously organized, those senses so subtile and so sure, those limbs so remarkable for their suppleness and strength; that hand, wondrous mechanism, so admirably adapted to lift burdens, cultivate the soil, fashion matter, polish metals, and bend nature to its will; no, we repeat again, man with all these noble faculties could not rest in a continued state of repose and inaction. If proof were required of

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[*] De Reb. Hispan. lib. i.

[†] Id. lib. ii.

[‡] Tit. x.

[§] Le Livre de l'Ouvrier.

this, we have it in the Scriptures, which inform us, that after He had created man, God led him, adorned as he was by justice and innocence, 'into the garden of Eden, that he should dress it and keep it.'"

The happiness of a life of labour was a favourite theme of the mediæval Catholic writers, from whom the greatest of modern fabulists has borrowed one of his most celebrated narrations, to which we alluded on another road. Hear the author of the Magnum Speculum:—"A certain rich man had a grand house next to the cottage of a poor labourer; and when he was unable to sleep amidst all his luxury, he used to hear the poor man sitting over his hearth making merry with his children, and then sleeping till morning so profoundly that he could hardly be awoken to go to his work. The rich man rising one night, opened the cottage door, which was not much locked or barred, and secretly suspended a purse of money inside. The poor man finding it next morning would not go to his work, lest he should be robbed of the money, but hiding it in the straw of his bed, he lay upon it and feigned to be sick, till he should determine what ought to be done. So he lay many days silent and sorrowful; and the rich man hearing no more songs, came and said to his wife, 'I can cure him,' and approaching softly, said, 'Give me back my money which you found on the peg.' Then he gave it up, and recovered all his former joy *." Taught by such examples, though they had raved of the golden fish, the laborious people of times past would not on that account forswear labour even in their dreams †. But as this road must not be followed longer, since its Catholic openings have sufficiently been remarked, and other ways invite us, let us observe on leaving it, what an avenue to the Church is presented amidst the contrasts and calamities of recent times, after men have abandoned the ancient Catholic manners, and denied the efficacy of the doctrines from which they sprang. "Never, I must acknowledge," says the Archbishop of Cambray, "have the legislator and philosopher so anxiously weighed this subject as at the present epoch. Human industry, whilst it astonishes us by its progress, the limits of which none can define, reveals at the same time its evils by two symptoms which cannot escape even the most thoughtless mind. On the one side its immense developments multiply the labouring class in a proportion always on the increase; on the other, by its sudden changes, by the novelty and perfection of its discoveries, by the substitution of machinery for human labour, and, above all, by the excess of its produce, which suddenly arrests its movement, or, at least, diminishes its action to allow time for the produce to be sold, it is often

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* Mag. Spec. 245.

† Theocrit.

exposed to suspend, at a moment's notice, the exertions and resources of a multitude of men.

"From this spring new, unforeseen, and menacing eventualities, which have excited in a high degree the solicitude of every man whose position or talent leads him to study political economy. The politician is justly alarmed by a state of things that, at an unexpected moment, may cast loose upon the public, and to the intrigues of the factious, millions of discontented individuals. Philanthropy demands where bread could be found for the famished population in such a commercial crisis. Political economy has exhausted its invention in combinations and calculations to allay the danger. Writers, moralists, socialists, speculators, have each in turn submitted their theories. Some, with brilliant dreams and ingenious chimeras, but impracticable and immoral, have succumbed, less from the impossibility of their success than from the indignation of outraged decency. Others, more rational and positive, have agitated alternately important questions, burning themes : the pay of the workman, the organization of labour, and the approximation of consumption to produce.

"On all these questions, it is naturally to be expected that religion should be consulted and heard : religion which is the key of the arch, the foundation-stone of the social edifice ; religion, which solves every enigma, elucidates all difficulties, satisfies all cravings, heals all wounds ; religion, that should always predominate in every serious discussion, in education as in economy, in the penitentiary system as in the poor laws ; for without it, after long efforts, useless and abortive results must follow. But, of all the elements which should occupy consideration in these projects of human amelioration or of reform, religion, except in some rare and noble exceptions, is precisely that which has been forgotten ; or the place assigned to her is so narrow and circumscribed as to cripple her exertions, and prevent any beneficial display of her power ; for, not to give her the rank to which she is entitled, is to annihilate her influence. And what has been substituted for her principles ? Vain promises, deceitful hopes, powerless defiance of the oracles of truth. Take from these utopian dreams the poetical illusions which light up their charms, and what remains but blasphemy, pride, and cruel deception ?—But is pride a fit soother for the irritation of our wounds ?—Is the thirst of the wandering traveller, in the burning sands of the desert, appeased by the mirage that eternally deceives his expectation ?

"We should most carefully guard ourselves," continues the archbishop, "from the vain and dangerous declamations of those weavers of categories, who, from not having traced the tendency of things, or, seduced by the breath of popularity, sow the germs of fatal divisions and odious rivalities among brethren,

as if the law of labour did not extend its sceptre over every head. Imprudent sophists, you see them, under the pretext of commiserating the lot of the classes more particularly devoted to manual labour, agitate their hearts with the old leaven of the most odious passions, by dividing society into two classes, the workers and the consumers; the workmen and the men of leisure; the first composed of all that is useful, honest, healthy, and virtuous, among the citizens; the latter, of all the impure and vicious humours in the social body—the lazy, the idle, the corrupt, an useless lumber on the earth: there works the industrious bee, here basks the parasite drone; on one side stand the miserably oppressed, on the other cruel oppressors fatten on the substance of their innocent victims! What a deplorable remedy, however, do they bring to the evils which they pretend to solace, when they add to sufferings, already too apparent, the torments of hate and the poison of envy! Ah! far more noble and true, far wiser and more consoling would it be to say to the labourer, the artisan, and the workman, that the labour of man is not confined to the action of the arms or the use of a tool; that neither science, power, rank, or fortune,—in fine, that no condition under the sun is exempt from the tribute imposed on all the human race; that the cultivation of the mind has also its toil, a toil not less laborious above all; that there can be no state of society without labour and sorrow; for the journey is not its termination, the combat is not the triumph, nor the time of trial that of the reward. And even if, by dint of invention, we could have deprived toil of its inseparable sting, and that is impossible, would, therefore, our short abode here be the end of our destiny? Mourning and death would still remain. Thus, until we can call down immortality from heaven to reside on earth, we must not expect the joys of home to rejoice the bosom of the exile.

"From all we have said, the natural and rigorous conclusion is, that religion possesses, in her doctrines and in their application, all the requisites necessary to the theoretical and practical solution of the important questions which have been the subject of our remarks; that it is then, consequently, from her instructions that we should seek a due comprehension of the law of labour, as it is from her influence that we should expect the moral improvement and the material happiness of the workman. Ah! if all the power which has been, foolishly and without profit, wasted by eminent minds and generous souls, to build and prop up fallacious systems, had been employed to secure the triumph of the Christian principle and its Catholic accomplishment, what sufferings would have been spared to humanity, what abuses cut down, what menacing perils turned aside from society! But, because they were divided in opinions, because each would pursue his own path, truth has been deserted to run

after the new, the fantastical, the surprising; because they have sought far away, in chimerical abstractions, the remedy which lay close at hand, the evil which they would have cured has been aggravated, and the good which they fancied to accomplish has been but partial and incomplete."

Thus clear was the opening to the Church from the road of labour, in the year when the archbishop wrote this Lenten prophetic charge to his diocesans. How has it been now widened for them since the great revolutionary torrent has again passed over, sweeping before it all that could intercept from the eyes of men the unrivalled supreme efficacy of the Catholic religion! But, indeed, for all nations this road now seems to lead men among gulphs and rocks, which leave them no alternative but either to retrace their steps, returning to Catholicity, or to take a precipice for no leap of danger, and so woo their own destruction. The trees that hang across this path are withered. There is no passing beyond the chasm that yawns before us. Lean-locked prophets whisper fearful change; rich men look sad, and ruffians dance and leap—the one in fear to lose what they enjoy, the other to enjoy by rage and war: these signs announce the decline of faith, the removal of the light of Catholicity. These can direct the frightened wanderer to turn back to the Church, which is the land of peace for all, of security for all, of sanctification and bliss for all.

Here we must leave the road of workmen, which has conducted us to the centre by placing thus before us the Catholic doctrine on the law of labour, and the manners, customs, and institutions of Catholic times, by pointing out the false ideas, the vain and dangerous theories opposed to faith held by men who have crossed our path, by showing how religion, while imposing labour as a penalty, knows how to honour, ennoble, and to a certain point immortalize it by her instruction,—how she smooths down its ruggedness by her consolations and promises, filling the mouth of deep defiance up, regulates it by wise enactments, supports it by the powerful aid drawn from the treasure of her charity, in the persons of those who bend beneath its weight, protects it against avaricious demands, and finally recompenses and crowns it with happiness, and of glory in the world that yields rest for ever.

North of this spot, down in the neighbour bottom, a rank of osiers by the murmuring stream leads us to the place where we shall meet many exhausted wayfarers reaping still other benefits from Catholicity appropriate to their state; but at this hour we must halt with the charcoal-burners, who are not of their company, and wait for fresh strength to enter upon a thorny, sad, uneven way.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROAD OF THE POOR.

THIS whole tract of the forest, from the beginning of the road of friends, being in a more especial manner characterized by scenes of love, and union, and charity, we shall do well, ere proceeding further, to strike off here into the obscure road which now crosses our path, bearing the title of the poor; for though their industry consists chiefly in struggling against the wants and sorrows of their condition, there can be no road of practical life which does not repeatedly cross it, and therefore it will be an excellent division to make it enter into the journeys of this third book, in order that in the next we may be more prepared for returning to the other tracks which are trodden by the busy men whose haunts are avowedly and exclusively through the varied region of those labours in which the majority of mankind is occupied. Descending from the rocks, where grow the easily contented birch, that thrive where nothing else will grow, sowing themselves without any aid from art, and living upon stones which one would think absolutely bare, being able by the power of their roots to separate rocks that are several tons in weight to reach the poor soil that satisfies them, we reach a vast low track, and crossing a brook that winds through bending sally trees, than which, as Pliny says, "no tree is more secure in tempests, or more quick to resume its posture when made to stoop by them *," we enter on a wide plain covered with the pale olive, which, where those trees are flourishing, so well proclaims the grace that will lead wanderers on this road to the Catholic Church, and where, diseased as they will be often found, the fatal consequences of abandoning her traditions and of renouncing her authority.

In Pagan times no symbolic olives grew near this road, though trodden by the poor. Impervious briers were on each side, and thorns strewed it—thorns bare, and no roses. The ancient philosophy, as a learned jurisconsult observes, "with all its merits had the unpardonable fault of remaining insensible to the evils of humanity. Confined within the domain of speculation to the profit of a few select persons, it was an occupation or an amusement, but never an energetic attempt to reform society.

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* Nat. Hist. xvi. 68.

It wanted charity, to which it could not attain either in its practical development or in its logical extension *."

"Savage beasts in Italy," said Tiberius Gracchus, "have their dens and lairs; and those who shed their own blood for the defence of Italy have nothing of their own but light and air." The conspiracy against Tiberius Gracchus showed the force of the resentment and hatred which the utterance of such complaints excited in the rich. Through the whole remainder of the world, as in Egypt still, not even these were heard. "A true physician," says Plato, enabling us here to estimate the lion by the claw, "never visits or treats a slave in sickness, or any one that is not a freeborn gentleman like himself. A slave doctor treats the slave, and he does so like a true tyrant †." At Athens there were forty thousand slaves to twenty thousand citizens; the claw here, therefore, is sufficiently significative. Towards equals only paganism seemed willing to extend and admire liberality. For such acts its praises are indeed bestowed with all the beauty and eloquence of its highest genius. There are virtues, says Cicero, proposed as if on theatres to the applause of men: "Sunt ea quidem magna: quis negat? Sed magnis excitata sunt præmiis ad memoriam hominum sempiternam. Quo minus admirandum est, eum facere illa, qui immortalitatem concupiverit. Hæc mira laus est, quæ non poetarum carminibus, non annalium monumentis celebratur, sed prudentium judicio expenditur: equitem Romanum, veterem amicum suum, studiosum, amantem, observantem sui, non libidine, non turpibus impensis cupiditatum atque jacturis, sed experientia patrimonii amplificandi labentem excepit, corruere non sivit, fulsit et sustinuit, re, fortuna, fide, hodieque sustinet; nec amicum pendentem corruere patitur; nec illius animi aciem perstringit splendor sui nominis, nec mentis quasi luminibus afficit altitudo fortunæ et gloriæ. Sicut sane illa magna quæ re vera magna sunt: de judicio animi mei, ut volet, quisque sentiat: ego enim hanc in tantis opibus, tanta fortuna, liberalitatem in suos, memoriam amicitiæ, reliquis virtutibus omnibus antepono ‡."

Such, perhaps, is the nearest point at which the old road of the poor approached to the region through which the new way named after them leads, and certainly the intervening space seems to be immeasureable. But though all things were to wear a changed aspect, when the sun of justice rose upon the forest, it did not follow that all purely natural characteristics of the scenery should be effaced. Indigence, distress, and sorrows were still to be expected; for the unerring will was irreversible, which proclaimed that it must be so till the end. "There will

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* Troplong de l'Influence du Christme. sur le Droit civil.

† De Legibus, lib. iv.

‡ Cicero pro C. Rabirio.

not be wanting poor in the land of thy habitation," were the words, "therefore I command thee to open thy hand to the needy and poor brother that liveth in the land *." The road of the poor, responding truly to the title, continues, therefore, still to form one of the great main ways through the forest of human life; and though paganism has passed away in form, there are substitutes for its action which cease not to neutralize and counteract the new benign influence, and to render all these vast arid plains a scene of bitter suffering for many. The olive-groves planted by the Catholic Church, to impart to them a different character, are therefore often, in their sterility and blight, symbolical of the forces employed to defeat her gracious intention. Goats licking the olives, says Pliny, render the trees sterile; and for that reason these animals are not sacrificed to Minerva †. These goats are the miscreants or heretics who gnaw the roots of faith in the minds of their dupes, and cause them to bring forth no oil of compassion to the poor. Passing the olive woods of Coimbra, a recent traveller says, "The tree is subject to a severe disease. Under the influence of the ferragem or rust complaint, the leaves shrivel, the tree sickens, and bears little fruit. Sometimes a whole grove is afflicted with this disorder, for which no satisfactory remedy has been devised." Alas! how many noble woods, once sound and prolific, under the light and warmth of Catholicity, are now blasted thus, and become a problem admitting of no solution to the speculators and practitioners, and legislators and rulers of nations! Our first steps, therefore, along this road of the poor, will lead us through melancholy tracts, which contain signals pointing to the Catholic Church, only by means of the gloom and disappointment which they yield to all who traverse them, since her doctrine and authority have been renounced or counteracted. The first antagonistic influence, of which the traces are discernible, is that of riches, forming a class, which later powers have only developed and left to riot in rank luxuriance, freed from the control, and motives, and restraints of faith. Salvian observed its ravages, and describes the men who cause it thus, addressing the Roman proprietors at the period which preceded their destruction: "What parallel to your cruelty can be found among the barbarous Goths? Ah! do you not fear? Let it suffice to you to have spoiled the poor, that no one could be secure near you. Than your voracity, it would be easier to stop the precipitous fall of Alpine torrents, or flames excited by the tempest. You drive out from their possessions your poor neighbours. Whether, as it is written, will you dwell alone upon the earth? But to this you cannot attain. Though you seize all places, and

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* Deut. xv.

† N. H. lib. viii. 76.

occupy all, you will always have a neighbour [*]." Heresy, attacking faith, and consequently divine love, gives rise to the blight which next follows, of which the wide-spreading desolation can be traced on all sides, even where its presence could not be expected. To estimate what kind of influence Protestantism, denying the efficacy of good works, and consequently paralyzing all exertions in behalf of the poor, has exerted on the world, in regard to the consolation of the indigent, we need not refer to such elaborate dissertations as occur in the great work of Balmes [†]. There are witnesses enough along the road, whom we meet at every step, some of them proclaiming their own previous error. "We go wrong, we go wrong," they cry; "No, yonder it is. There, where we see the beggar and the light." One says, "The Reformation undoubtedly was, in its results, a triumph of the rich over the poor, and of wealth over the rights of labour. There is no historical thesis easier of demonstration [‡]." Another says, "You have failed greatly in one matter. You have been the rich man's church. You have left it to Rome to honour poverty: you surrendered to her what may almost be counted for a note of the true Church. Rome has sat in a higher temporal dignity than you, yet never has she forgotten to honour poverty [§]." "Pharisees to the very marrow of their bones," says a third, speaking of the middle and upper classes in a Protestant nation, which I am unwilling to name, "these men are always thanking God that they are not as other men, nor even as the publican. With full stomachs, and under roofs wind and water tight, and beside warm hearths, and in soft beds, and with 'a balance at the banker's' enough, as they think, to ensure them against Providence itself, and with souls fattened by the good things of this world, and with lips from morning to night greasy with abundance—they sit arrogantly in judgment on the crimes of starving, naked, heart-broken men:—their alms being too often blasted by pride, and converted into a despicable occasion of meditating on their own signal superiority to all the other productions of the Creator's omnipotence. This people, which ranks poverty as a crime of the deepest dye, which is pitiless as only Pharisees can be, which, in the midst of its riches, has forgotten God, and in his place has reared up a ghastly idol, in which, as in an enchanted mirror, it beholds and worships a golden image of itself,—this luxurious, money-making nation as a matter of course has decided against the poor [||]." And yet, to be strictly just, we should remark that this blight is the result

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[*] Salv. de Gubernatione Dei, lib. v. xi.

[†] Le Prot. et Cath. comp. c. 33.

[‡] Brit. Crit. lxvi.

[§] Sights in Foreign Churches.

[||] Lucas.

of an indirect action, not of an express and positive choice; for in theory and principle Protestantism would embrace the poor within the sphere of its benignity. Promising is the very air it breathes; it opens the eyes of expectation, though in the deed and in performance it fails so signally that not even the words above cited are too strong to describe the consequences. In fact, by deciding against Faith, all the results that we deplore must follow of necessity, and accordingly did follow from the first days of the Protestation. It would be quite idle to affirm the contrary. Bernard Gaulter, a bookseller of Cologne, in his edition of the works of St. Bruno, declares his conviction in these words: "Before this Lutheran plague, more alms were given in the one Carthusian monastery of Strasbourg than is now dispensed by the whole of that vast and rich city. O deplorable mutability of things! O lamentable wreck of the poor man's interests! O miserable reformation of the Gospel, deforming, perverting, and obliterating for ever the charitable foundations of our ancestors, and the annual revenues left for the sustenance of the poor*!" Stowe can bear witness how similar was the mutation nearer home. Let us only hear him once: "Amongst the ancientest buildings at St. Mary's Spittle," he says, "was one row of proper small houses, with gardens for poor decayed people, there placed by the prior of the said hospital; every one tenant whereof paid one penny rent by the year at Christmas, and dined with the prior on Christmas-day: but after the suppression of the hospital, these houses, for want of reparations, in few years, were so decayed, that it was called Rotten row, and the poor worn out (for there came no new in their place) houses, for a small portion of money, were sold from Goddard to Russell, a draper, who new built them, and let them out for rent enough, taking also large fines of the tenants, near as much as the houses cost him purchase and building; for he made his bargains so hardly with all men, that both carpenter, bricklayer, and plasterer, were by that work undone; and yet, in honour of his name, it is now called Russell's row." Still, if we do not take pillage into account, the evil was negative; arising from the want of faith, and the consequences of that want, from negligence, forgetfulness, and the natural influence of a life emancipated from all the supernatural motives of the Catholic religion. It was the evil of multiplying men like those St. Ambrose spoke of who excuse themselves from giving alms by saying, "necessitates infinitæ sunt; tributa sunt gravia; non intelligentes," as the holy doctor adds, "quod omnibus necessitatibus salutis sit necessitas præferenda†." It was the evil of sinking back to the manners of paganism, prompting the exclamation of Horace, who

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* In ed. Op. S. Brunonis, Colon. CIↃIↃCXI.

† Serm. 39.

teazes us after wine about poverty: "quis post vina pauperiem crepat[*]?" It was the evil of educating children like the son of the king in the book of St. John Damascene, on the deeds of St. Barlaam and Josophat, who was studiously kept ignorant of all human miseries, till meeting by chance one day a leper and a blind man, he began to ask questions which led to his discovery of the existence of suffering in the world[†]. It was the evil of teaching men to laugh to scorn such recitals as occur in the old Catholic books, like that in which we read of a man of good life, chaste, modest, humble, and watchful in his words, who would never hear the poor, and in order to avoid being troubled by their applications, who built his house at a distance from the gate, so that no cry of the poor could reach him; who died, and being carried to the church, the bishop who said the mass, whenever he turned to say Dominus vobiscum, beheld the great figure of our Lord on the cross stopping his ears with his hands[‡]. The desolation, indeed, as far as regards the poor, is the same as if the later sophists, whom we are about to meet, were combined to convert their insensibility into a system. Pagan manners no less surely are revived, as when Diceopolis demands who is this at the gate? and hearing a wretched man, rejoins, Pass on then, *ἀνὴρ κακοδαίμων—κατὰ σεαυτόν νυν τρέπου*[§]," for you, O brethren of the threepence, *ὦ γέροντες φράτορες τριωβόλου*, will hear this now from those of the contrafernity of seven hundred pounds a year, who bear the title of commissioners[||]. The man of ease, who by his warm fire-side confines to deeds of charitable intercourse, and bare fulfilment of the common law of decency and prejudice, the struggling nature of his human heart, is duped by the cold sophistry of which he reads in each day's journal. The poet does but paint him from the life where saying, "That man

> Heeds not the shriek of penury: he smiles
> At the deep curses which the destitute
> Mutter in secret, and a sullen joy
> Pervades his bloodless heart, when thousands groan
> But for those morsels which his wantonness
> Wastes in unjoyous revelry, to save
> All that they love from famine.
> ——— · ——— Now to the meal
> Of silence, grandeur, and excess he drags
> His palled, unwilling appetite. If gold
> Gleaming around, and numerous viands culled

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[*] Ode I. xviii. 5.

[†] Ap. Georg. Stengelius, Cibus Esurientium.

[‡] Ant. d'Avéroult Catéchisme Hist. vii. tit. 4.

[§] Acharn.

[||] Equites, 255.

From every clime—if vice—
Unfeeling, stubborn vice, converteth not
Its food to deadliest venom—then that man is happy."

Claims of indigence, dignity of the poor in the Church, holy poverty, all Catholic expressions relative to the poor, become strange empty phrases in his ear. Munificence, liberality, extended to the low, are alike unreal things to him, obsolete, even perhaps in his judgment hurtful. Access to him is granted with words not more encouraging than those which proclaimed that poverty makes men ridiculous *. It will be with, "Use him as you may, for he looks like a poor, decayed, ingenious, foolish, rascally knave. I do pity his distress in my smiles of comfort, and leave him to your lordship." Yes, leave him to one who will boast, perhaps, that he made a law to himself, twenty years ago, never to give money to a beggar and that he has never broken it. Sterne describes such persons well, "Pity the unhappy, said a devout, venerable, hoary-headed man, meekly holding up a box begirt with iron in his withered hands. I beg for the unfortunate; good, my lady, 'tis for a prison—for an hospital; 'tis for an old man, a poor man undone by shipwreck, by suretyship, by fire; I call God and all his angels to witness—'tis to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry; 'tis to comfort the sick and the broken-hearted.—The lady rode on." In the glorious Catholic painting of the marriage of St. Francis, poverty is represented having her feet among thorns and roses round her head. Protestantism invests her with no crown of flowers, it leaves her thorns only.

In fine, this region is now exposed to the combined action of the negative Protestant influence associated with the positive principles of still more unbelieving sophists, under the garb of philosophers teaching the science of political economy. The rust of the olive is confirmed by the remedy; and the whole tract through which this road commences presents the aspect of wide and interminable desolation. At first the phenomenon presented consists in a formal approval of the eighth Henry by the philosopher. Montesquieu vaunts as a master-piece of his policy, "La suppression des hôpitaux où le bas peuple trouvait sa subsistance." Such courage in the commencement of the new godless or blaspheming civilization might have prepared men for the merciless acts that were about to follow. Infidelity, more logical in its latter than in its former shape, had no difficulties or scruples on this road when once let loose upon it. The inviolability of the property of the poor presented no impediment to the revolution in France. All that belonged to hospitals was confiscated and sold †. The cry of

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* Juv. Sat. iii.

† Egron, le Livre du Pauvre.

Barrère in the convention was, "Plus d'aumônes! plus d'hôpitaux! C'est une vanité sacerdotale qui créa l'aumône." The philanthropy or benevolence of D'Alembert, Diderot, of Holbach, and of the eighteenth century, now proposed for imitation where many vestiges of Catholic charity remain, as if foreseen by the great dramatist of the Christian monarchy, is ascribed by him to one whose crimes finish by calling down fire from heaven to devour him. Notwithstanding their boasts of fraternity from first to last all poverty was scorned, and pride became so great that the very name of help grew odious to repeat. The bad wind having spent its first virulence, a calmer, more insidious blight succeeded, spread into other lands, and left, in fine, this region stripped and forlorn, as we see. Sophists such as Timon saw are now the consequences—

"They hate all, curse all; show charity to none:
But let the famish'd flesh slide from the bone,
Ere they relieve the beggar: they give to dogs
What they deny to men; let prisons swallow
Them, debts wither them—so that they fare well and thrive.
They make edicts for usury to support usurers,
Repeal daily any wholesome act established
Against the rich, and provide more piercing statutes
Daily, to chain up and restrain the poor."

Diogenes used to ask alms from stone statues, saying, "That it accustomed him to patience when refused by men." The occasions have returned when it might be well to imitate him. But do you ask with Lady Anne in Shakspeare,

"What black magician conjures up this fiend
To stop devoted, charitable deeds?"

Rather than shape my answer to the notions of the present day I would refer you to the old mystery of Theophilus, and leave you to learn from it what reply the Catholic generations of old would have made to such a question; for there you will find that when Theophilus pledges himself to the devil with joined palms between his knees, the fiend instructs him thus: "Theophilus, handsome, sweet friend, since you have placed yourself in my hands, I will tell you what you must do. You must never love a poor man. If a poor man in distress entreats you, turn away your ear; pass on. If any one humbles himself before you, answer with pride and felony. If a poor man asks at your gate, beware lest he receive alms. Sweetness, humility, pity, and charity, and friendship, the practice of fasting and of penance, cause great mourning in my heart and paunch. To give alms and pray to God annoys me too much. To love God and live chastely makes me feel as if a serpent were gnawing within my

belly; when any one enters an Hôtel Dieu to visit a sick person, then my heart grows so faint and dead that I can hardly feel any thing, so greatly does every virtuous act torment me. Go on, now, you shall be senechal. Leave good works and do evil, never judge well while you live, for you would commit great folly, and would act directly against me*."

Well might Antonio de Guevara therefore say, in his quaint style, "God and the devil know one office, and do trade in one merchandize, that is, in making of men's hearts; but the difference is, that God doth make them of flesh, and the devil doth make them of stone; and because they are enemies the one to the other, they keep no fidelity in their trade, for the heart of stone God doth turn into flesh, and the heart of flesh the devil doth turn into stone †." How faithfully the demoniac charges are observed by the only liege men that our age wishes to preserve, no one needs to be told. Now urge devoted charitable deeds. You will be trying to boil a stone. Let them economize, will be the reply; leaving you to add—

"Cum ratione licet dicas te vivere summa;
Quod vivis, nulla cum ratione facis."

From Catholics they can have all you say without paying for it;

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* Theophile beaus douz amis
Puisque tu t'es en mes mains mis,
Je te dirai que tu feras.
Jamès povre homme n'ameras:
Se povres hom sorfris te proie,
Torne l'oreille, va ta voie;
S'aucuns envers toi s'umélie
Respon orgueil et felonie;
Se pauvres démande à ta porte,
Si gardes qu'aumosne n'enporte.
Doucor, humilitez, pitiez,
Et charitez et amistiez,
Jeune fère, penitance,
Me metent grand duel en la pance,
Aumosne fère et Dieu proier,
Ce me repuet trop anoier
Dieu amer et chastement vivre,
Lors me samble serpent et quivre
Me menjue le cuer et ventre.
Quant l'on en la meson Dieu entre
Por regarder aucun malade,
Lors ai le cuer si mort et fade
Qu'il m'est avis que point n'en sent.
Le Miracle de Théophile.

† The Myst. of Mt. Calv.

Well, let them shut-to their doors, but here the guardian of the poor will say, like the jailor, in the old mystery de Saint Valentin, to the generous confessors, "Avant! entrez ci—si du mien mangent, ils le paieront; if of mine they eat, they'll pay for it." If any one now should ask in England which is the Hotel of God, men may stare astonished; but no one assuredly will direct him to the union as the place where Jesus Christ is received to hospitality in the persons of the poor. That deposit of mendicity, as it is so aptly termed, is however sufficiently well known to the rich and indigent alike. Some of the former contract almost an affection for it: since there are men who seem to choose a workhouse for their place of pastime, beguiling tedious hours, and as if purposely not to lose any sighs of the poor. As the old poet says, they are of all heroes the only men who wish to live surrounded with the miserable *. And who commissions them? The official man, some creature of the system of centralization, absorbed by the constant and violent love of self, who knows not the poor, studies them not, visits them not, aids them not, serves them not, bears them not in his heart. We read in the Scala Cœli of a certain rich man who abstained from meat, but committed many unjust exactions. Once, having expelled a widow from her inheritance, she came to him with her children in her arms, saying, "Lord, you do not eat dead flesh, but you eat live flesh, since you devour your subjects. Take then these sons of mine, and eat them." At hearing which words he was so struck with remorse that he made a general restitution †.

The desolation through which we are now passing admits of no remedy by such narratives, since it is the result of principle, and pursued with systematic views, as part of the benefits of modern civilization. We are acting, say those who sanction it, according to the received maxims of the most approved philosophy, and we are prepared to abide the consequences. This may be said without meeting opposition in parliament, but Catholicity calls forth many that would reply elsewhere,

——— "You speak
Like one besotted on your sweet delights;
You have the honey still, but these the gall;
So to be valiant is no praise at all."

However, it is the same whenever the Catholic religion is supplanted by antagonistic opinions. If we look to France, "instead of the church and the castle," says Egron, "we have the Mairie—a pure abstraction, without bowels and without compassion, executing to the letter the rules of the police, wounding

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* Vesp. 390.

† Mag. Spec. 6.

to the miserable, and speaking to them with the hand empty and the heart dry *." If we observe what passes in England, names only are changed, and the evil is far greater, as the immense results of the old Catholic charity, which after all are still obtained in France, disappear. The new officials are armed with such powers, that they remind one of Cicero's picture of the Decemvirs, who also were proposed under pretence of a popular object, and commissioned to visit the provinces of the empire. "Romæ esse, quum commodum sit; quacumque velint, summo cum imperio judicioque omnium rerum vagari ut liceat, conceditur †. And what sort of men think you," he adds, "O Quirites, are those who smell out these new offices? Truly men who for giving think the least too much, and for receiving, the most too little." We too have commissioners complaining, like the ambassadors ridiculed by Aristophanes, saying, "Every where we were obliged to drink the best wine out of cups of gold." We have inspectors too—other charlatans. The mere paper for printing "the reports" of the relief committee in Ireland, in the year 1847, cost six thousand eight hundred pounds; and when the relief does at length descend to the objects for which it is intended by the contributors, to what does it amount? You will find the sum and the motive both most accurately stated in the tragedy of Sophocles, where Creon orders a little food to be left with Antigone, though condemned to perish—

ὅπως μίασμα πᾶσ' ὑπεκφύγῃ πόλις ‡.

You will find its form—involving the breaking up of family connexion—the separation of husband and wife, parents and children, under the name of union—singular misnomer, and truly characteristic of the religious system incorporated with such measures of relief—most accurately ordained in the year 455, when, on Genseric taking Rome, the vast multitude of captives dispersed along the shores of Africa were divided among the Vandals and Moors, who, according to the custom of the barbarians, separated husbands from wives, and children from parents. On which occasion we read, that the holy pontiff, Deogratias, sold the sacred vessels and ransomed the captives, to rejoin husbands and wives, children and parents §. In fine, you will sometimes find the instruments of such national relief in those described by Homer—

τῶν ὕβρις τε, βίη τε, σιδήρεον οὐρανὸν ἵκει ||·

Of the centre, therefore, so far, upon this road, named from

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* Le Livre du Pauvre. † Cont. Rullum. ‡ 776.

§ Vict. Utic. lib. iii. De Persecut. Vand. 1. || xvii. 565.

the poor, we have as yet seen nothing: but does not this whole scene of wretchedness, excluding every view of it, denote some fatal divergence from the ways of truth? and must not the impression resulting from observing it move men to retrace their steps, and hasten to the wide glorious avenue where charity and sweet affection with the Catholic Church are seen? Where are found none of those dilemmas, none of those insurmountable difficulties, none of those realities which render it impossible to treat the poor as representing the Saviour whom you adore? Turning then aside here, at a pass called like that in the forest of Fontainebleau, the Roche qui pleure, we descend upon a plain where olives, untainted by the fatal blast that withered all the first groves we traversed, are, like it, significative of the softened hearts which, under the influence of divine faith, will be found ministering in every form of wise, and prudent, and tender benignity to the wants and miseries of men. For remark here, before taking another step, that the most loathsome evils attached to indigence, leprosy, destitution, vice itself, all point to the Catholic Church as in one sense a mother. Her very nomenclature can attest it. Ladrerie was the title for the asylum of those afflicted with leprosy, and our fathers always said St. Lazarus. Madelonnette was the penitent's name. The Hotel of God signified the house for the poor and for the sick. Such are the words that show us the Catholic Church, casting a holy and ennobling veil over all the wounds of humanity, leaving no affliction, no degradation, even as soon as the will had no longer part in it, without a certain balm *.

Through this vista, then, all who can be led by a love of the poor, and afflicted, and miserable, whatever be the sources of their wretchedness, and by a desire of seeing the bitterness of the human condition effectually relieved, will be able to discern the centre of their attraction ever fixed immoveable, and by an unalienable right in the Catholic Church. But not to ask a premature assent, unfounded upon proof, let us proceed slowly along this great road, remarking first, the constant transmitted doctrine of the Church, making hard hearts dissolve away in wisdom-working grief, and then its as constant and effective practice. The ears of men conversant with modern guides are familiarized with many negations relative to the consequences of faith. Truth unknown, prophets unknown, gospel unknown, Bible unknown, God unknown—such are a few of the commonest; but that in Catholic countries charity is unknown, is a proposition which, as far as the stranger's knowledge extends, no one has ever yet hazarded, though it ought to suit the wishes of many far more than many other denials that they are fond of,

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* Les PP. Cahier et Martin, Mélanges d'Archéologie, I. 75.

since charity and truth are inseparable; for God is love, and he that loveth abideth in God, and God in him, and therefore all would be set at rest if that one point could be proved that Catholicism ignored charity. But all along this road we meet with evidence in such tangible and unmistakeable form that it would be hopeless to make even the assertion within Exeter-hall itself. On every side men can discern how well in Catholic ages was understood the unerring voice which proclaimed at one time that there would never be wanting poor in the land*, and at another that there should be no poor in the land, since the divine blessing would be sought by relieving the indigent. "Frange esurienti panem tuum," we read inscribed from the Old Testament, "et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam †," with texts conformable from the New, to confound the heresies of Calvin. "Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis," and the rest, which shows that Catholicity alone, in doctrine as in practice, agrees with the Book of God. The Sibyl, too, that was to strike the leading chords of the divine harmony, was thought no less to proclaim the great lesson:

——— "Panem, potumque famenti
Et sitienti da, nudum tege corpus amictu
De proprio castis manibus largire labore
Oprassum recrea ‡."

In fact, all events, during sixteen centuries, borrowed their character from the doctrine which was to form a new epoch in the history of the human race. The Roman senate, by a decree, abolished the expenses of the games of the Circus on the accession of new consuls, and substituted alms to Jesus Christ in the persons of his poor §. The Council of Gangres, earlier than that of Nice, made this canon; "If any one should despise those who celebrate the Agapes, that is, who through the love of God give a feast to the poor; and if any one disdains to be invited with the others to these assemblies, and thinks but slightly of these acts of religion and charity, let him be anathema ||." The one great concurring voice of the holy Fathers of the East and West still sounds echoing through the Catholic Church. "Fasting," says St. Ambrose, "does not, as almsgiving does, illuminate the soul with an interior light ¶." Alms are pronounced by the Catholic religion to be more necessary to the giver than to the receiver. Without them the soul dies the evil death. Cæsar of

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* Deut. xv.

† Esa. lviii.

‡ Sibyll. Orac. Col. ii. lib. iv.

§ Ennod. Ticin. in Defens. lib.

|| Can. xi.

¶ Fer. I. post diem cin.

Heisterbach supplies an instance: "There was," he says, "a certain rich and respectable matron who could not through shame prevail on herself to confess her sins to a priest. One day, finding a destitute child, she took it to her home, nourished it as her own child, and had it educated, so that, in the end, it became a priest. Encouraged by her own act of charity, she went to confession, and disclosed the sins which she had never before been able to reveal*." "The promises of Scripture are so formal," says the Père de Ligny, "that we may affirm that among those who give abundant alms very few are reprobate, if there should be even one. We may doubt that there has ever been one." Martyrdom itself, or the prospect of it, was deemed to be more secure if attended with alms. During the persecution, in 492, at Arles, the Archbishop St. Eonius exhorted the people to be most charitable to the poor †. In fine, the Catholic maxim is thus expressed by Claudian, writing to Sidonius, "Cum tuas opes in usus pauperum prodigis, tibi quidem maxime, sed aliis quoque consultum facis ‡." St. Augustin shows how dangerous it is to limit one's alms by the example of those around one §. "If," he says, "you should lose a child, remember to continue as it were to give it its inheritance. You owe to your dead son what you would have given to him living, for your son lives in Christ ‖. St. Gregory Nazianzen composed a celebrated discourse περὶ φιλοπτωχίας, or the love of the poor, and of poverty, opposed to which love St. Chrysostom thunders against the vanity of the rich. "It is certain," he says, "that riches render men absolutely foolish and insane. What a fever! what a thirst! and what an indifference to the wants of the poor! Our rich must have even the basest utensils, that cannot be named, of silver. The king of Persia at this moment wears a beard of gold, the barber having contrived to wrap each hair of his chin in gold. Glory to thee, O my Saviour Jesus Christ, who hast delivered us from these prodigious aberrations to which the human mind is subject ¶." St. Augustin, in a sermon appealing to his flock in behalf of the poor, spoke with such touching simplicity and humility, that his auditors, enchanted with his apostolic charity, testified their admiration by striking their hands together. When silence was obtained, the spirit of God moved him to utter these words; "You have heard my exhortation; you have honoured it with your applause. God be praised! You have received a divine sentence, and you have already produced words of edification and piety. But these praises which

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* Lib. iii. c. 40.

† Du Port. Hist. de l'Eglise d'Arles, 122.

‡ Sid. ap. Epist. lib. iv. 2.

§ De Decem Chor. c. 12.

‖ In Epist. ad Col. 2.

¶ Id.

you bestow on us are burdensome and dangerous. We tolerate them; and they cause us to tremble. Nevertheless, my brethren, however great may be your praises, they are but the leaves of the tree of the Gospel: and what I demand from you is fruit *." Mabillon, in his Italian journey, discovered the Homily of another early Father, whose spirit reigned in the house which had preserved the manuscript as efficaciously as if it still heard him. "Thesaurus quidam divitis," said that text, "est pauper esuriens. Vide ergo si non negotiatio est eleemosyna. What you give to a friend is lost to you. What you leave to your sons is lost to you. That alone is not lost to you which you give to a beggar; for in the day of judgment the poor will profit you, when friends and children can be of no avail †." Too late, says St. Isidore, too late, did Dives open his eyes, when he saw reposing that poor Lazarus whom he had refused to see when lying at his door ‡. "Terrena omnia servando amittimus," he says, again, "largiendo servamus." It would be long to cite the testimony of the councils. It is still the same obligation solemnly announced, authoritatively promulgated. Passing at once to the ninth century, we find that a bishop, on his visitation, was to inquire of each priest, "si curam pauperum ac peregrinorum et orphanorum habeat, eosque juxta possibilitatem suam ad suum prandium invitet §." That priests were to admonish the people to give alms, and pray for protection from evil ‖. And again, "Ut Presbyter curam hospitum, maxime pauperum atque debilium, orphanorum quoque atque peregrinorum habeat, hosque ad prandium suum cotidie juxta possibilitatem convocet eisque hospitium tribuat ¶." Faithful to the sacred deposit of the divine doctrine thus transmitted from the beginning, we find the middle ages incessantly occupied with enforcing the same duty of charity to the poor. "Let the rich attend," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "who think it sufficient not to have spoiled the poor, and to have grown rich without crime, or wrong, or fraud, quia non dedisse sufficit ad gehennam **." St. Martin, seeing a sheep sheared, said, "It has fulfilled the Gospel law. Having two coats, it has given one of them." The Church has censured the extravagant interpretation of a Joachim; but the divine extravagance of St. Francis in favour of poverty it has canonized. What joy to a poor man to hear the words which issue from every Catholic pulpit, to hear a St. Francis preaching, or a

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* Serm. v. in Matt.

† S. Maxim. Taurin. Hom. xi. ap. Mab. It. It. ii.

‡ S. Isid. De Summo Bono, lib. iii. 64.

§ Regino Abb. Prum. De Eccles. Discip. lib. i. 24.

‖ Id. i. 104.

¶ Id. i. 105.

** Concio II. Dom. i. Advent.

St. Bonaventura. "I believe firmly," says the latter, "that he who ministers to the poor or unhappy, purely with a view to Christ, has greater merit, and is more approved by God, than if he had actually ministered to the very person of Christ; for the worst man, if he really saw Christ in distress, would fervently and diligently minister to Him, but it is more perfect to minister to our neighbour for his sake, and with a pure view to Christ[*]." "Let us honour the poor," says St. Paulinus of Aquileia, "and in their persons receive Christ, who said, Quandiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis[†]." The monastic world has but one voice to proclaim the duty of alms. "Qui charitatem possidet, pecunias spargit," says St. John Climachus[‡], striking at the root of an antagonistic delusion. "Hospitalitatem sectantes per omnia," says the rule of St. Macarius, "et ne avertas oculum, aut inanem dimittas pauperem; ne forte Dominus in hospite aut in paupere ad te veniat, et videat te hæsitantem, et contemnaris; sed omnibus hilarem te ostende et fideliter age[§]." "You are too poor to give alms! Nothing richer," adds the rule of blessed Ælred, "than a good-will. Give that. What more humane than piety? Extend that. What more useful than prayer? Bestow that[||]."

Thus the poor are encouraged to minister with the rich to others. What is a glass of water in the universe? "The price of eternity," replies Gerbet, "if you give it to the poor." What was the lesson from the legend of St. Christopher, as St. Antoninus relates it, but to show that it might be exalted charity even to carry a poor stranger boy over a torrent? Rupertus says, "Donum Dei qualecumque sit, sive magnum, sive parvum, sive cœleste, sive terrenum, pretiosum est in oculis sapientis sive justi." The gifts of the just, however small, are likewise to be received with gratitude. "What a little thing," says Antonio de Escobar, "did Ruth receive from Booz, when he said, 'Ne vadas in alterum agrum ad colligendum; mandavi enim pueris, ut nemo molestus sit tibi, sed etiam si sitieris, vade ad sarcinulas et bibe aquas de quibus pueri bibunt;' and Ruth, 'Cadens in faciem suam et adorans super terram,' showing great gratitude for a small gift, in consideration of which Booz added an invocation of benediction on her from the Lord[¶]!" "After recommending labour and economy," says Louis of Leon, "to show how far he is from approving of avarice and the sordid love of saving, Solomon immediately adds, that the virtuous woman

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[*] Stim. Div. Amoris, P. ii. 7.

[†] Ad Hen. ducem, cap. 47.

[†] Scal. Par. 3.

[§] Reg. S. Mac. c. i. ap. Luc. Holst. Codex Reg.

[||] Regul. B. Ælredi, xlv. ap. id.

[¶] In Evang. Com. vol. vi. 203.

opens her hand to the indigent, and stretches out her arms to the poor. Many persons want confidence in the promise of God to bestow benedictions on the property of those who are charitable. If they considered that God gives them what they have, they would less fear to give Him back a part *." "The most common of all prodigies," says the Père de Ligny, "is the multiplication of means by alms. All has not been written; but one may doubt if among persons who give great alms there should be one who has not experienced it more than once †." The monastic records abound with accounts of the multiplication of resources as the fruit of alms. "In the year 1197," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "when famine reigned, our mother house of Hemmenrode exhibited immense charity to the poor, and in proportion as they gave our Lord seemed to give to them, for Gerard of St. Simeon's, in Treves, then dying, bequeathed about two hundred pounds of silver to the house, the half of which was for the poor ‡. Brother Gedeschalcus de Fulmenstein, our monk, related to me, that after that scarcity the cellerarius of a house of our order in Westphalia met him one day, and, when he asked him whither he was hastening, he replied, 'Ad Concambium, before the harvest; on account of the necessities of the poor, we kill our cattle, we pawn our chalices and our books. Just now the Lord has sent us a man who has given us so much gold that it is adequate for our wants, and I am going to redeem our things that are in pawn, and restore our flocks. Hence we can understand the words, 'Date et dabitur vobis §.' It frequently happens," adds this author, "that monasteries become rich from giving largely for Christ's sake, and that others which are tenacious of their own, contrary to his command, are impoverished ||." But let us hear a friar, the illustrious Antonio de Guevara. Writing to Don Pedro de Acunnie, Count of Buendie, he says, "Beyond comparison you ought to have more fear of injuring the poor than the rich; for the rich take revenge with arms, and the poor with tears. Beware how you give the management of your estates to lawyers fresh from the universities, with their science on their lips and their brains in their heels, without experience or observation." Again, to another rallying him for melancholy, he says, "Those who buy wine to give it with usury, and who keep corn to sell it in the month of May, those should be sad." Then in his great work, generally addressing princes, he says, "Oh, what a grace it is that God grants to generous men when He gives them great hearts! and what a calamity for the avaricious to have their hearts contracted! for, if they could taste how sweet it is to give,

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* Perfect Wife.

† Hist. de J. C.

‡ iv. 66.

§ iv. 67.

|| iv. 70.

they would not be able to keep any thing. But made, as they are, by their villainous avarice, how can they do any thing that they ought? They can neither give to their enemies, impart to their relations, succour the poor, lend to their neighbours, support orphans, give clothing to the naked, feed poor families, lodge pilgrims in their houses, visit hospitals, help the sick, secretly assist the indigent, assist poor orphans to marry, ransom captives, give food to the children of poor gentlemen, clothe poor widows, or even give daily alms *." What must have been the impressions of the poor when they beheld St. John of God perambulating the streets to collect alms for them, and crying out to all passengers, " Fate ben, fratelli, fate ben to yourselves?" Nor can we omit noticing that complement to the Catholic instruction furnished by the awful narratives that disclosed visions of the other world, ratifying and confirming its decrees, as in the vision of Purgatory, seen by Thurcill, when those who in life had not shown mercy to the poor and given alms, were seen trying to traverse a bridge with bare feet upon sharp iron nails, falling through pain upon their hands, which were then transfixed with them, till falling on their bellies, being wholly torne, they dragged themselves across, arriving with bodies that presented only one immense bleeding wound †.

But every thing was employed in supplying these great lessons. Fable—as when we hear some say that ravens foster forlorn children the whilst their own birds famish in their nests. O be pitiful!—the vulgar error respecting natural objects, as when in default of science charity explained the curiosity, of which Stengelius furnishes an example in himself, saying, " I have often seen in Bavaria, in the church of St. Leonard, at Aichensis, bread changed into stone from having been denied to a poor man." St. Gregory of Tours says, " I have seen olives harder than marble, which came from a ship in which every thing was turned to stone in punishment of the hard-heartedness of the captain, who said to some poor who asked alms, that they should have nothing from him but stones ‡." The proverb of the people pointed no less, as when the French say, " Là où la chèvre est liée il faut bien qu'elle broute." The works of popular amusement served the same end, as when in the famous Procès entre Bélial et Jésus, by Frère Pierre Ferget, Ysaia says, " Et combien que Dieu face le pouvre et le riche, et lieve et abesse, toutefois en ce est son temporel jugement que il ne fait aulcun pouvre si non pour lautre riche, et ne fait aucun riche si non

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* L'Horloge des Princes, lib. iii. 1120.

† Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1206.

‡ Stengelius, Cibus Esurientium.

pour l'autre pouvre. Detestable et impudante parolle est dire que les choses à eulx sont propres, veu quils nont riens apporte en ce monde et que les biens universallement sont de Dieu. Fault conclure que plus grand pèche est au riche desrober que nest au pouvre, et le riche qui denye au pouvre quant il a grant habondance et ne luy veult bailler pain ou vestement il detient au pouvre ce qui est sien *." In the Mystère des Saints Actes des Apostres, the king Gondoforus having ordered St. Thomas to build a palace, the Apostle gives the money to the poor, and then tells the king that the palace is built of everlasting stones in heaven. The king is not quite satisfied, for he exclaims—

> " Larrons, sans conscience aucune
> Qu'avez vous faict de ma pécune?"

The lesson, however, is received by the people, and St. Thomas becomes in consequence the patron of the masons. Money itself is made to convey the same lesson as when that of Rome, Bologno, and Viterbo contained the image of St. Laurence, in order that men should learn, as Molanus says, from the example of the holy deacon, to disperse their money and give to the poor †. On some of the money of Benedict XIII. and of Clement XI. are the words, " Feneratur Domino qui miseretur pauperis." Innocent XIII. placed on his coin the words, " Blessed is he who comprehends the misery and the wants of the poor." Innocent XI. placed on his the words of St. Peter, " What I have I give to you." On the money of other Popes we read, " Nullus argento color est avaris ;" and on others, " Væ divitibus." In France, Peter II., Duc de Bourbon, in 1448, placed on his écus the words, " Dispersit, dedit pauperibus." Purses had the same end to answer, the name being " eleemosynaria."

The aumonières Sarrasinoises, which obtained that title after the crusades, were purses for ladies, embroidered in an Eastern fashion, worn from their girdle, and the very name from alms served to remind them of the use of money. We are not noticing things too minute ; for the makers of those silent monitors formed one of the most extensive trades in Paris in the thirteenth century. The names of high dignities at court proclaimed the same duty. Under the first race of kings in France the officer who had care of the poor, assisted by the monarchs, was called the Apocrisiaire, or answerer ; and under the second, Archichappellain, who was often only a simple priest, as Folrad at the court of Pepin and Charlemagne, and the priests Hilduin and

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* Fol. 242.

† De Hist. SS. Im. lib. iii. c. 30.

Foulques at that of Louis-le-Débonnaire. Under St. Louis, the title of Grand Aulmosnier was adopted *. "Christian charity," says Roulliard, "was the basis of the French monarchy †." Each dinner table proclaimed the same lesson, the continental custom being introduced or revived in England, when in the year 1200 Eustache de Flaix, in his sermons, advised all rich men to have on their table the dish of Christ with the intention of the poor ‡. Stowe says, "I read, in the year 1452, that Richard, Duke of York, then claiming the crown, the Lord Rivers should have passed the sea about the king's business, but staying at Plimmoth till his money was spent, and then sending for more, the Duke of Sommerset sent him the image of St. George in silver and gold, to be sold, with the alms dish of the Duke of Glocester, which was also of great price, for coin had they none." The Epergne, that might figure in any Bacchanal painting, is now the substitute for the Catholic alms dish.

Of course every thing in the churches, the stained glass most especially, taught the same lesson, as may be witnessed in the history of Lazarus, et du riche épulon, as the old French called Dives, on the solemn window of Bourges, on which parabol Honorius of Autun, in his Speculum Ecclesiæ, in the twelfth century, comments with such force that some would gladly pause to hear him. Thus of Dives he says :—

"Et notandum quod nulli legitur quidquam rapuisse,
Sed tantummodo propria non tribuisse ;
Et si is tanto supplicio plectitur
Qui propria non largitur,
Quid de his est sentiendum
Qui semper parati sunt ad rapiendum ?
Hic dives aliqua bona pro humana laude fecit,
Et horum mercedem per bona temporalia recepit ;
Lazarus vero aliqua mala gesserat
Quæ hic dolore corporis luerat.
Quibus ergo Dominus concessit divitias hujus sæculi, caveant,
Ne eos divitiæ, ut servos, possideant,
Et a veris divitiis vacuos ad Tartara protrahant.
Grave est enim divitias in malum usum contorquere :
David enim, Ezechias,
Atque Josias,
Ut puto reges,
Aliique eorum similes,
Multas divitias possederunt
Sed, per eas, indeficientes divitias sibi comparaverunt.

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* Sebast. Rouilliard de Melun, advocat en Parlement, le grand Aulmosnier de France, 21.

† Id. 15.

‡ Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1200.

> Quidam divites, ut Abraham et Job, salvantur ;
> Quidam vero divites, ut Pharao et Nabuchodonosor, damnantur.
> Quidam pauperes, ut Lazarus et Monachi, ditabantur ;
> Quidam autem, ut Judas et alii fraudulenti, miseriis æternis traduntur."

The religious rites of many churches taught the same duty in a most impressive manner. In the old Basilica of Marmoutiers-lez-Tours, an aged man, covered with an old cloak half red and half blue, walked at the head of the monks in all ceremonies. This was le pauvre de Saint Martin, that is, says Egron, the living remembrance of a fact that took place a thousand years before at the gate of Amiens ; such was the imperishable glory of alms within the Catholic Church ; and this custom exists still in many of the churches placed under the invocation of St. Martin *. But, above all, the confessional taught the lesson ; and perhaps in this respect the manual of the thirteenth century, an echo of its traditions, was more explicit and efficient than books of modern composition, however they may surpass it in adaptation to the taste of an age which would often be content with formality and elegance. The author of the Ménagier de Paris, describing how confession should be made, supplies these words to the penitent for his consideration—" J'ay donné joyaulx aux dames et aux seigneurs et à leurs officiers ou ménestriers pour estre loué d'eulx et pour dire de moy que je fusse noble et vaillant et sage ; certes de povres créatures ne me chaloit-il rien." And again, " Aux povres ay moult despiteusement parlé et par mon ire les ay appellé truans ;" which acts and words, let us remark, he places in the catalogue of mortal sins †. In fine, the familiar letters, and generally even the profane literature of Catholic nations, contain the same lessons. St. Paulinus of Aquileia, writing to Henry, duke of Friuli, says, " Esto, quæso, quamvis laicus, ad omne opus Dei promptus," pious to the poor and sick, a consoler of mourners, compassionate to the misery of all men, bountiful in alms, mindful of the two mites of the widow in the Gospel, and of the prophet, saying, " Frange esurienti panem tuum," and discreetly ordering your alms, that they may console both the giver and the receiver ‡. There is not a single collection of mediæval letters that could not furnish other instances ; and to exemplify the same tendency in mere secular writers would be equally a task interminable. It will be sufficient to cite the modern French poet, who in this respect is not uninfluenced by his country's faith, while repeating in verse the admonitions of the holy, saying, " Give ! that God, who endows

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* Le Livre du Pauvre, 53. † D. 1. a. 3.

‡ S. Paulini Pat. Aquil. Liber Exhort. ad Hen ducem Forojul.

families, may give to your sons force, and to your daughters grace; that your vineyard may ever produce sweet fruit; that ripe corn may fill your granaries; that you may be better, that you may see angels in your dreams. Give! A day comes when earth will fail us; your alms above will then be riches. Give, that some one may be heard to say he has had pity on us! That the poor, when they see your palace, may not fix on it a reproachful eye. Give, that you may be loved by God, who was made man, that the wicked may bow his head in naming you, that your hearth may be calm and patriarchal. Give, that on a future day and hour you may have the prayer of a beggar all-powerful with God." Thus deep are the impressions which another secular author of an earlier age, Antoine du Verdier, sieur de Vauprivaz, expressed in his book of divers lessons in these words: "Treasures should not be kept in chests, but distributed among the poor, young and old, and to such as have no means of gaining a livelihood." But now, to complete this brief summary of the Catholic instructions relative to the duty of Christians upon this road of the poor, let us take note of the distinctions and reservations with which they were accompanied. "Quid sentis," asks an interlocutor in the work of Cæsarius of Heisterbach, "de his qui malè vivunt, et tamen eleemosynas multas faciunt?" The monk answers, "Nihil eis prodest ad vitam æternam[*]." "No one," says St. Isidore, "can be merciful to another who by living ill is without compassion for himself; for how can he who is wicked to himself be good to another? No crime can be redeemed by alms if a man persist in his crime. There is no pardon where mercy is exercised so that sins follow it[†]." What becomes, then, of the modern accusations founded on the importance which the Catholic religion attaches to alms and charity? I have cited witnesses who never heard such charges, and who never foresaw that any generations would afterwards produce them. Again, men, while in health, are to give alms, not to leave them as a legacy after they die. If any one fears lest his wealth should fall into the hands of the enemy, let him, say the Catholic clergy, Homeric-like, forestall the enemy by distributing them—

> *Τρώων δ' ὅς κτεάτεσσιν ὑπερφιάλως ἀνιάζει,*
> *συλλέξας, λαοῖσι δότω καταδημοβορῆσαι,*
> *τῶν τινα βέλτερόν ἐστιν ἐπαυρέμεν ἤπερ Ἀχαιούς*[‡].

St. Leger, in the seventh century, practised this rule to the letter; for, when the city of Autun was besieged by his enemies,

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[*] Illust. Mir. &c. lib. xii. c. 18.

[†] Div. Isidor. de Summo Bono, lib. iii. c. 64.

[‡] xviii. 300.

he assembled the clergy and the faithful, produced his treasure, and said, "All that you see here, brethren, as long as God was pleased that I should have the favour of earthly men, has been faithfully employed, as far as I could, for the public good—ad communem ornatum. Now it appears that earthly men are furious against me in order that the Lord may call me to the grace of heaven. What have I to do with wealth, which I cannot take with me to heaven? Therefore, if it pleases you, I propose to give this to the poor rather than to leave it as an ignoble treasure to be carried hither and thither about the world: and let us imitate blessed Laurence, who for that reason dispersit et dedit pauperibus—justitia ejus manet in sæculum sæculi [*]." Men were thus to forestall death, as the martyr prepared for being taken by his enemies. But hear Antonio de Escobar, another name not associated with the defence of Catholicity against Protestants, by men suspicious or fearful of their scrutiny. David says, "Dispersit, dedit pauperibus;" he does not say, remarks the Spanish theologian, "Reliquit, dari testamento præcepit [†]." St. Basil shows the folly of those who reserve their alms for their wills, and wait till they are dead to be charitable; and we may remark, also, that it is a Catholic poet who represents Astolfo finding in the moon, among other things lost on earth, "a great heap of overturned soup and alms to the poor, which had been delayed till the giver's death." It is an antiquarian, loving Catholic times, who says, "Thus much for famous citizens have I noted their charitable actions, for the most part done by them in their lifetime. The residue, left in trust to their executors, I have known some of them hardly (or never) performed; wherefore I wish men to make their own hands their executors, and their eyes their overseers, not forgetting the old proverb,—

"Women be forgetfull, children be unkind,
Executors be covetous, and take what they find.
If any body aske where the dead's goods became,
They answere, So God me help, he died a poore man.

We see that the new opinions were favourable to the executors whose confessions thenceforth were to be general, in a different sense, from that in which Catholicity uses the term. Nevertheless, St. Cyprien, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and St. Salvien of Marseilles, have exhorted Christians to leave alms, at least at their death; for, say these Fathers, "possibly they may have neglected to do so before, through ignorance; and they may be disposed now to live charitably if they should recover."

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[*] Ap. Dom. Pitia, Hist. de S. Léger, 324.

But let us ask, since in fine it is permitted to evince it, who should be the chief objects of posthumous liberality? It shall be an English abbot of St. Edmonsbury, in ages most maligned for their instructions on this head, that will answer the question. Hear then what says Jocelin of Brakelond, in the twelfth century. "Hamo Blund, one of the wealthier men of this town, on his death-bed, could hardly be persuaded to make a will; at last he made a will, but disposed of no more than three marks, and this in nobody's hearing, except his brother, his wife, and the chaplain. Now the abbot, after this man's decease, reflected upon this, and called those three persons before him, and sharply rebuked them, especially upon this point, that his brother (who was his heir) and his wife, would not suffer any one else to approach the sick man, they desiring to take all; and the abbot said in audience, 'I was his bishop, and had the charge of his soul; let not the folly of his priest and confessor turn to my peril, but, insomuch as I could not advise the sick man when alive, I being absent, what concerns my conscience I shall now perform, though it may seem to have been done slowly. I therefore command, that all his debts and his moveable chattels, which are worth, as 'tis said, two hundred marks, be reduced into a writing, and that one portion be given to the heir, and another to the wife, and the third to his poor kinsfolk and other poor persons. As to the horse which was led before the coffin of the defunct, and was offered to St. Edmund, I order that it be sent back and returned; for it does not beseem our church to be defiled with the gift of him who died intestate, and whom common report accuses that he was habitually wont to put out his money to use.'"

But, in regard to the objects of alms in general, hear a more express testimony. John, abbot of Fescamp, in the preface to his book of instructions for the empress Agnes, says to her, "Having found you to be much given to works of mercy, I did not hesitate to write this, namely, that without all doubt the proper objects of eleemosynary gifts are not ecclesiastics, who are already possessed of large property, but widows, orphans, sick persons, foreigners, and especially those who are truly the poor of Christ *." Further, mark the wise discretion prescribed by Catholicity in regard to the distribution of alms. "A dispenser," says St. Isidore, "ought not to be prodigal, but discreet, so as not to give all to one †." The rule of the angelic doctor is thus abbreviated:—

"Largè quamvis eroganda
Prudenter et moderanda
Pro cujusque copia

Sic Dominus es bonorum
Ut quædam sint egenorum
Et quædam Ecclesiæ *."

And yet men are warned not to scrutinize the poor with eyes of a severe judge, and withhold assistance on the ground of their unworthiness. Catholicity knows not such discretion. The poor whom St. Catherine of Sienna visited and consoled used often to insult and to defame her. "What matters it," used St. Thomas of Villanova to reply,—a man no more wanting in good sense than the keenest of our contemporaries,—"if the poor at our gate should deceive us, and laugh at us, provided that we relieve them in security of heart, and in the name of Him, who to enrich us was willing to live and die poor." "Even to an excommunicated man," says Ives de Chartres, "we may give alms, provided it be non pro sustentatione superbiæ sed humanitatis causa, as Pope Gregory VII. says †." "There was," says an old writer in the monastery of Crutched Friars, in the diocese of Munster, a lay brother deputed to receive guests, and he fearing to judge another man's servant, without the least distinction of persons, used to receive all laymen alike, good and evil, civil and insolent, with as much humility and love as if he had been their mother ‡."

Such, then, is the instruction of Catholicity respecting the obligation and dispensation of alms; and may we not now fearlessly ask, What has the world elsewhere to oppose to this great constant voice? It is true, at the epoch of the false reform, great promises were made to the indigent, and immense hopes excited in the rich, that they would have no more burdens arising from charity to others, but where did they end? It is true, also, that in the seventh year of the French republic the sophists proclaimed their wish that the poor man might find in the new system the relief and assistance "que trop longtemps on a cru que la superstition seule pourrait lui procurer §." But was the result in the latter case different from what it was in the former?

Let us proceed, then, to observe the practice of Catholicity, and remark how pre-eminently it exceeds all that vain and ungrateful generations have reaped from what, under diabolic suggestion, they substituted in its place.

Pope Innocent III., when treating on the contempt of the world, and on the misery of the human condition, devotes a separate chapter to considerations on the misery of the poor. "Pauperes," he says, "vilescunt, tabescunt, spernuntur, et con-

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* Doct. Ang. Sum. Synops. iii.

† Ivon. Carnot. Ep. 186.

‡ Joan. Major. Magnum Speculum. 181.

funduntur [*]." "Persecution is so allied to poverty," says Antonio de Escobar, "that we can hardly think of the one without the other. When I would take the case of a man afflicted with worldly tribulations and injuries, and wounded by insulting words, I immediately suppose him poor; for persecution follows poverty, as the shade a body [†]." Such is the natural condition of the poor, in which we find them wandering on this sad road, till, directing their eyes forward to the central light, they are drawn towards it by an experience of the benefits which emanate to them from the Catholic Church. For, in the first place, in their lowest state of desolation, as common mendicants, they will instinctively look to Catholicity as to the source of their chief temporal hope. O Church of Christ, founded on Peter, and governed by Roman pontiffs, how dear shouldest thou be to the forlorn!

> "For thou art still the poor man's stay,
> The poor man's heart, the poor man's hand;
> And all the oppress'd, who have no strength,
> Have thine at their command."

While the world, grown obdurate beyond what paganism showed itself, rejects the plea of old Homeric times when a poor wanderer could say—

> πτωχεύω δ' ἀνὰ δῆμον; ἀναγκαίη γὰρ ἐπείγει [‡].

And only some of the younger men, without influence, reprove the modern Antinous for reviling the strange beggar [§], the Catholic Church impresses those who hear her with reverence for what the Fathers call "the sacrament of the poor," that is, the recognising Christ under the rags of a poor man, as faith recognises him under the sacramental species [||]. So, wherever her influence extends,—

> "If he's press'd by want of food,
> He makes his dwelling in the wood;
> Repairs to a road's side;
> And there he begs at one steep place,
> Where up and down with easy pace
> The horsemen-travellers ride."

Him the simple traveller loves; him the artist, as in the evening scene on a highway painted in the Louvre; him the Catholic, ever still the man of Homeric taste whatever be his state of life,

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[*] c. xix.

[†] In Evang. Comment. tom. vi. 386.

must love, as one who goes about like Ulysses, πτωχεύσων, saying,—

κατὰ δὲ πτόλιν αὐτὸς ἀνάγκη
Πλάγξομαι, αἴ κεν τις κοτύλην καὶ πύρον ὀρέξῃ *.

But of course not so the modern economist ; not so the sophist who associates alms with Catholicity, and who, when God would borrow of him, rather than lend, forsakes God. Yet, as if such reasoners had ears, deem not this poor man useless, says the Church, seeming to repeat a poet's words, addressing statesmen, who are so restless in their wisdom, and who have a broom still ready in their hands to rid the world of what they fancy nuisances. Catholicity deems useful the presence of the poor. In the fifteenth century, Don Rodriguez de Castro, archbishop of Seville, having by advice of the canons published an edict commanding all beggars and indigent people, from a supposition that many impostors were among them, to leave the city, the blessed Father, John Bernal, resolved to prevent its execution, and, preaching before the archbishop and chapter in the cathedral, spoke with such force, ending with the words, "the poor you will always have with you," that on the same day, not only the edict was revoked from the town-hall, but one of a contrary nature published, to proclaim that the city, in chasing away impostors, would assist all poor persons ; and the magistrates caused to be inserted in the registers of the city that they had revoked their first edict at the exhortations of Father Bernal, and especially by his assuring them that God would leave the city along with the poor †.

The poor man, therefore, who may love personal liberty as dearly as the rich, and who may, perhaps, feel called to lead a life that saints, wiser than some legislators, have praised, will hardly be insensible to the attractions which Catholicity contains, in permitting him, after giving security of innocence, to wander thus, a dedicated beggar to the air, with his disease of all-shunned poverty, walking like contempt alone. Nor will he disdain the source from which men learn to have compassion on his state, and to relieve his wants, though the sophists may pronounce it to be superstition, recommending rather the alleged motive of Don Juan, " Va, va, je te le donne pour l'amour de l'humanité," as says that representative of atheism to the beggar, giving him a louis-d'or, after first trying to persuade him to sin against his conscience by a wanton oath. The poor man has other thoughts. Perhaps experience has settled his notions respecting the force of different motives ; but, at all events, his heart will hail the principle that recognises, on relieving him, an

occasion to relieve his Saviour; and he will advance with love and reverence towards that church which says, that charity for our neighbour is a theological and divine virtue, inasmuch as it is God that we love in our neighbour [*]. Eagerly, in fact, do the poor avail themselves of the Catholic image under which they are represented by faith. "Poor boys! they came back stript and emaciated, like two Christs," said an old grandfather, as if he had a painting by Morales before his eyes, speaking of his grandsons, whom want and sickness had chased from Paris to their native town, where the stranger was appointed to visit them by a conference of St. Vincent of Paul. In Britany, we are told, that beggars are honoured, and almost the objects of a kind of worship. The tenderest epithets are applied to them. They are styled "the good man, the dear poor, the cherished, the friends, the brothers of the good God." They are never sent away with scorn. They are sure to find an asylum in the manor or in the cottage [†]." "Towards sunset," says the song of Iannik Skolan, "the beggar comes to us. When the beggar enters, she has a smile for every one." The day after marriage, in Britany, "is the day of the poor. They arrive there by hundreds, at the gate, and sitting down at table, the bride waits upon the women, and the bridegroom on the men, after which banquet they all dance together." But every where Catholicity smooths, yea, strews with flowers, the road for the indigent. Egron remarks, that the engravings of the time of Louis XIV., and those of later date, show poor beggars in their rags admitted within parks, close to the sumptuous equipages of kings. The lame and the blind appear in all the groups around the royal residences [‡]. In the old Breton song, these manners are indicated by an affecting incident: "Messenger, disguise yourself as a beggar, and speed on your way to my family," says the knight Bran in his prison. Accordingly, when the messenger arrived in the country of Léon, the lady being at supper with her family, and the harpers at their post, the beggar enters the hall immediately, and saluting them delivers the letter [§]. Catholicism thus gives to beggars what kings confer upon their highest favourites, the privilege of private entrance. "To the honour of Spain be it said," observes a recent traveller, "it is one of the few countries in Europe where poverty is never insulted, nor looked upon with contempt. Even at an inn the poor man is never spurned from the door, and, if not harboured, is at least dismissed with fair words, and consigned to the mercies of God and his Mother." Those

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[*] Le Père de Ligny, Hist. de J. C.

[†] Hersart de la Villemarque, Chants Pop. de la Bretagne.

[‡] Le Livre du Pauvre.

[§] Hersart de la Villemarque, Chants Pop. de la Bretagne.

works of fiction, we may remark, in modern times, like that entitled a "Christmas Carol," may be said, therefore, to point to Catholicity by dwelling on that love of the poor, and that amiable grace of generosity towards them, which nothing else can so effectually inspire; for only charity, in its Catholic religious acceptation, can produce such manners. This it is which draws the widow's mite, the scholar's penny, the noble's gold, the Pontifical Bull, the bishop's Indulgence. The Church makes alms of every kind glorious. She commemorates on pages that are to last with the world, not the triumph of conquerors, but the cure of the beggar:—

> "Res obscura quidem est ignobilitate virorum
> Mira tamen *:"

she exclaims with Bossuet, "Let no one any longer scorn poverty, or treat it as a vulgar thing. True, it was once of the dregs of the population, but the King of Glory having espoused it, he has ennobled it by this alliance; and henceforth he grants to the poor all the privileges of his empire †." And, indeed, here is occasion to repeat the words of Rupertus, and say, "No tongue can express, nor can the mind of man comprehend, of what importance it was to us that the humility of the Word of God should have chosen for Mother, not a rich, but a poor virgin. For, if Christ had chosen to be born of rich parents, what place would there be found for the poor at this day in the Church of Christ? But God, without rejecting the powerful, has chosen oftener to prefer the poor, imparting to them a fuller share of his benedictions ‡." In Spain are many images of the blessed Virgin, under the title of St. Maria Indigentium §. What parliamentary grant can promise and perform like that image? Let it not be supposed, however, that the avenue to the Church on this road of the poor is obstructed to the prudent by an indiscreet encouragement of a mendicity which no necessity obliges, emanating from her instructions or influence. When this evil exists, its cause must be sought elsewhere. Catholicity denounces it as a crime. "A certain beggar," says the author of the Magnum Speculum, "who was strong and healthy, passed his time in idleness. Being often admonished to work and serve the community, he would not acquiesce. A holy man, passing one day as he slept, took a crust of bread from the beggar's wallet, and placed it on his breast. The man, still sleeping, began to groan and start; the other then awoke him, and asked him what he had been dreaming about; it seemed, he replied, as if a mountain weighed me down to the abyss. 'Brother,' said the

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* Met. vi. 8. † Elevat. sur les Mystères.

‡ Rup. Abb. de Victoria Verbi Dei, lib. xi. c. 21

saint, 'it was only a small crust given to you in alms. See how injurious mendicity must be to your soul*.'" In point of fact, as the Père Cahier remarks, all ancient monuments of art attest the falsehood of this charge brought against Catholicism, of encouraging indiscriminate alms. Thus, in the window of the cathedral of Bourges, the only beggar who appears is a cripple. In all the pictures by Murillo and Cespides, representing St. Thomas of Villanova relieving beggars, they are the maimed, and the halt, and the blind, who supplicate him. An author of the tenth or eleventh century represents St. Peter expressing his surprise at finding among beggars a woman who appears in health; upon which she explains to the prince of the Apostles her appearance among them, by relating that she is not only separated from her family and reduced to want, but also deprived of the use of her arm. The question was, "Cur sana mulier eleemosynam peteret †." Beggars, in the mediæval records, are found preferring to remain sick and impotent, in order that the alms of the faithful may be extended to them, which they say would otherwise be withdrawn. In the account by the first abbot of the order of Cluny of the miracles wrought by the relics of St. Martin, on their translation to Auxerre, we read, that on their return to Tours, two paralytic beggars, hearing of the miraculous cures, expressed fears lest they might be cured with others. "Brother," said one of them to the other, "we are now tranquil and happy, and we do nothing: every one has pity on us; we have only to take the trouble to ask what we want, and it is sure to be given to us; we are always at rest. All this happiness we owe to our infirmity. If we should be cured, which God forbid, we should be obliged to labour with our hands, of which we have lost the habit, and we should no longer be able to beg with any fruit. Let us therefore fly from St. Martin, and leave the diocese. The grace of Heaven however pursued them, they were cured; and on the spot where their flight was interrupted the inhabitants built a chapel in honour of St. Martin, called La Chapelle Blanche." So early as in 1350, a French ordonnance forbade alms to be given manually to persons sound in body who could work, and restricted their dispensation to the blind, lame, or impotent ‡; but there was always tender provision made in the event of the infirm falling into indigence. Thus, when John II., king of Portugal, suppressed mendicity, he founded the hospital of All Saints, to receive those who could not obey the edict by working.

Another avenue, presented to the poor on the road leading to the Catholic Church, consists in the form and mode of imparting

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* Mag. Spec. 555.

† Monog. de Bourges, 147.

‡ [illegible] Le Livre du Pauvre

assistance to them which she opposes to the method adopted by the modern civilization. Far from her thoughts are those who, colouring their luxurious liberality with the name of philanthropy, defend the customs she reproves, when men gather alms,—

> "Amid the vanities of courtesans,
> For the occasion of a fancy fair,
> Or herald forth, in long subscription-lists,
> That they have done, what secresy alone
> Can make to be what it pretends to be."

The old poet says:—

> "Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum."

And Ulysses says, that wine impels him to speak; but the moderns discover that cups can make men even charitable. While fasting they can only threaten the poor,—

> *Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἕντο* *,

then they can find an instant to think of them; when they or their children are introduced into the hall, and made to walk round the table of their grave enlightened benefactors, who, with glass in hand, proclaim the praises of each other. A poet who observes the new manners passing into his own country, complains of the innovation thus:—

> "Puissants! nous ferions mieux de panser quelque plaie
> Dont le sage rêveur à cette heure s'effraie,
> D'étayer l'escalier qui d'en bas monte en haut,
> D'agrandir l'atelier, d'amoindrir l'échafaud,
> De songer aux enfants qui sont sans pain dans l'ombre,
> De rendre un paradis au pauvre impie et sombre,
> Que d'allumer un lustre et de tenir la nuit
> Quelques fous éveillés autour d'un peu de bruit!"

Certes, this thought might lead him farther than he himself imagines; for the manners he invokes are precisely those which the Catholic Church teaches and enables men to perform, as many even of the old tombs testify. On that of Marbodus, in the church of Angers, we read these lines of the date of 1125,—

> "Jugiter orabat, jejunabat, vigilabat,
> Quodque sibi minuit, pauperibus tribuit †."

It is Catholicity therefore which forms the character that another

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* iii. 473

poet, who maligns the holy faith, praises; for it yields, that "man modest and virtuous, who seems by his voluntary privations poor to the pompous rich, and by his generous gifts rich to the poor." "When men love any thing," says St. Augustin, "the labour itself attending it is loved. As in hunting, fishing, in the vintage, in traffic, or in play of any kind.—Et vide quam pudendum et dolendum sit, si delectat labor ut fera capiatur, ut cupa et sacculus impleatur, ut pila jaciatur, et non delectat ut Deus acquiratur*." "What," asks St. Gregory, "do we, who seek eternal life, but undertake a certain journey in order to proceed to our country? What are good works but steps of the journey leading to eternal things?" The modern philosopher, abhorring the trouble and personal inconvenience which love would joyfully accept, suggests besides that we can advance otherwise; or that, by hiring other persons to take these steps, we can mount without any personal effort of our own. Not so Catholicism; and therefore, led by its attractions, men enter into associations and brotherhoods, in order to mount to garrets and dive into cellars to assist the poor, though, as in Paris, to visit four families will require perhaps the climbing of as many steps each week as strangers take once in their lives to see London from St. Paul's. After citing the canon of the second Council of Tours, composed exclusively of saints which required each town and village to support its own poor, the author of the book entitled, L'Aumosne Ecclésiastique, remarks, that "this holy ordinance may be seen in full execution in many parishes of Paris, where, with a zeal equal to that of the apostolic times, the abundance of some supplies the indigence of others; whence," he says, "it appears that the same Spirit of God, which spoke by the tongues of these holy bishops nearly eleven centuries ago, acts at this day by these charitable priests and laymen of Paris †." Catholicity therefore sanctions the idea of certain legislative enactments in favour of the poor; but who are to be its administrators, and what is to be their payment? Their character is to be sanctity, and their remuneration an indulgence. The Council of Ravenna in 1311, ordering every bishop to have some of the poor daily at his table, decreed as follows: "Care must be taken to elect annually, in all quarters of the city and through the province, four or six Catholic, devout, honourable persons, to make a collection for the poor and distribute the result; and to these, and to all who contribute alms, we grant forty days of indulgence, if he is truly penitent and shriven ‡." St. Antoninus of Florence, who so loved the poor, formed a confraternity of twelve men, called of St. Martin, to collect and distribute alms in Florence, by whose care six hun-

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* August. de Bono Viduit. 21.

† p. 740.

dred families were provided for. In Rome the sodality of the twelve Apostles was instituted to visit all the Poveri Vergognosi, if they would only put their memorials into a certain box, which stood exposed so that they might do it without being seen, and which was opened thrice every week, when the applicants were visited and relieved. The provision of dowers for poor maids formed an object for Catholic charity every where; but in this respect an ancient author remarks, that "Rome excels all other cities of the world. The sodalities of every class furnish portions, which are solemnly given every year in their respective churches, some giving as much as 800 crowns; and, as the maidens can receive also from others, some obtain 500 crowns before their marriage *." The general objects of the sodalities are the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. Who has not heard in recent times of the societies in France of St. Francis Xavier, St. Francis Regis, and St. Vincent of Paul; in which latter, young men of all ranks meet once a week to confer upon the state of the poor, and assist them with their alms, and counsels, and personal service. Would you observe with what ease and simplicity are these provisions organized? Hear then a short tale. On the octave of the Assumption, in the year 1842, the stranger was appointed to meet eleven persons unknown to him or to each other, in the chapel of our Lady in a sea-port town in France. Mass of the Holy Ghost was said by the curé, to whose house the party afterwards proceeded, and there the Père Le Fèbvre made one of those short and moving discourses, for which he is so justly prized, on the nature of the conference which they were about to found. On the spot they chose for president a devout lawyer, for secretary a young baron, and for treasurer a linendraper of known piety. The wheels were in movement immediately. The meetings each week were opened and closed with short prayers in Latin; a chapter of the Imitation was read first, and then the names of the poor and their condition were proposed. After which cards were delivered to the members, who were enjoined to visit them. Think you, was there no pleasure, even independent of all religious influence, in their new task? You would soon be undeceived. The second visit that the stranger made in that town was to a poor widow, whose cottage being shut up the neighbours said, that she had gone, they knew not why, at day-break with her children to an adjoining village, a certain wild hamlet along the coast. The next day she was found at home. She said, she had heard that, since the expiration of the first year after her husband's death, the curate there had ceased to recommend his soul from the altar, and that she had gone to engage him to continue to do so for another year.

In the capital the conference to which the stranger belonged was composed of carpenters, mechanics, students, artists, apprentices, gentlemen under all titles, counts, dukes, and a Russian prince, a convert to the faith, who was perhaps the most active and indefatigable of all the members. Here might have been witnessed the truth of what a modern author remarks, that the consequences of such charity are very unlike the results of a mere romantic disposition, to complain of misery and pity it. "Perception of distress in others," he says, "is a natural excitement, passively to pity and actively to relieve it; but let a man set himself to attend, to inquire out, and relieve distressed persons, and he cannot but grow less and less sensibly affected with the various miseries of life with which he must become acquainted; when yet, at the same time, benevolence, considered not as a passion but as a practical principle of action, will strengthen, and, whilst he passively compassionates the distressed less, he will acquire a greater aptitude actively to assist and befriend them *." Here was seen, too, how little the principle of vanity entered into the Catholic practice of alms. Old scenes were revived, as when we read, that "Blessed Melania brought silver vessels of three hundred pounds' weight to the Abbot Pambo, and he gave directions as to its distribution among the poor; and when she expected to be praised for such an offering, and heard nothing from him, she said, 'There are three hundred pounds' weight;' but he, without looking at her, answered, 'He to whom you offer it, daughter, has no need of weighing it. He who weighs the mountains knows the quantity of this money †.'"

Another great signal pointing to the Catholic Church, and very legible on the road of the poor, consists in the asylums which it has instituted for them in the hospitals and other charitable foundations, which, before the false reform and first revolution in France, were so multiplied over the whole of Europe, that it was hardly possible to imagine a state of misery for which ingenious charity had not provided an especial and effective consolation, each house sometimes containing provision for many wants, as the vast hospital of the Annunciata at Naples, over the gate of which are these lines expressing them:—

"Lac pueris, dotem nuptis, velumque pudicis,
Datque medelam ægris hæc opulenta domus."

Hospitals are almost coeval with Christianity, having commenced in the bishops' houses. In the age of Constantine celebrated was the hospital of St. Samson, restored by that emperor after a

fire, as Procopius relates. Justinian again enlarged it; and Mennus, bishop of Constantinople, was its priest *. In the city of Fessa were two hundred hospitals for pilgrims to Jerusalem and for the sick, as Leo Africanus relates †. Nearly all the illustrious men of Catholic times are associated with the annals of hospitals. Belisarius built an hospital in Rome in the Flamiminian Way. In the hospitals, in later times, of the order of St. John of God alone, there were throughout the world more than 20,000 beds. We need not pursue the history of such asylums, which can be found elsewhere. Since the time of St. Louis, such was the multitude of hospitals and houses of charity in France, that, as an ancient author says, the whole of this great kingdom seemed to be only one common Maison-Dieu ‡. In the work of Stowe we have several glimpses of the ancient resources of London, supplied by Catholicity, in the form of hospitals, alms-houses, and asylums. Let us hear him:—

"In the year 1332, William Elsing, mercer of London, founded Elsing Spittle within Cripplegate, for sustentation of an hundred poor blind men, and became himself the first prior of that hospital.

"Sir John Poulteney, draper, four times mayor, in 1337 built a fair chapel in Paule's church, wherein he was buried. He founded a college in the parish church of St. Laurence, called Poulteney; he built the parish church called Little Allhallowes, in Thames-street; the Carmelite friars church in Coventry; he gave relief to prisoners in Newgate and in the Fleet, and ten shillings a-year to St. Giles' hospital by Oldborne for ever, and other legacies long to rehearse.

"John Stodie, vintner, mayor 1358, gave to the vintners all the quadrant wherein the Vintners' hall now standeth, with all the tenements round about, from Stadies lane, wherein is founded thirteen alms-houses for so many poor people, &c.

"John Lofken, fishmonger, four times mayor, 1367, built an hospital called Magdalen's, in Kingstone-upon-Thames; gave thereunto nine tenements, ten shops, one mill, one hundred and twenty-five acres of land, ten acres of meadow, one hundred and twenty acres of pasture, &c.; more, in London, he built the fair parish church of St. Michael in Crooked Lane, and was there buried.

"John Barnes, mayor 1371, gave a chest with three locks, and one thousand marks therein, to be lent to young men upon sufficient pawn, and for the use thereof, to say, 'De profundis,' or 'Pater noster,' and no more: he also was a great builder of St.

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* Baron. R. Mart. 27 Jan.

† Lib. iii. 113

Thomas Apostle's parish church, as appeareth by his arms there, both in stone and glass.

"William Sevenoke, grocer, mayor in 1419, founded in the town of Sevenoke thirteen alms-houses for, as his testament saith, twenty poor men and women.

"Richard Whittington, mercer, three times mayor, in the year 1421 began the library of the grey friars in London, to the charge of four hundred pounds: his executors with his goods founded and built Whittington college, with alms-houses for thirteen poor men, and divinity lectures to be read there for ever. They repaired St. Bartholomew's hospital in Smithfield; they bare some charges to the glazing and paving of the Guildhall; they bare half the charges of building the library there, and they built the west gate of London, of old time called Newgate, &c.

"Then come you to the Papey, a proper house, wherein sometime was kept a fraternity or brotherhood of St. Charity and St. John Evangelist, called the Papey, for poor impotent priests (for in some language priests are called papes), founded in the year 1430 by William Oliver, William Barnebie, and John Stafford, chaplains or chantry priests in London, for a master, two wardens, &c., chaplains, chantry priests, conducts, and other brethren and sisters, that should be admitted into the church of St. Augustine Papey in the wall. The brethren of this house becoming lame, or otherwise into great poverty, were here relieved, as to have chambers, with certain allowance of bread, drink, and coal, and one old man and his wife to see them served and to keep the house clean.

"I read, in 44th of Edward III., that a hospital in the parish of Barking church was founded by Robert Denton, chaplain, for the sustentation of poor priests, and other both men and women, that were sick of the frenzy, there to remain till they were perfectly whole, and restored to good memory.

"Next unto the parish church of St. Buttolph is a fair inn for receipt of travellers; then an hospital of St. Mary of Bethelem, founded by Simon Fitz Mary, one of the sheriffs of London, in the year 1246: he founded it to have been a priory of canons, with brethren and sisters; and King Edward III. granted a protection, which I have seen, for the brethren, 'Miliciæ beatæ Mariæ de Bethlem,' within the city of London, the 14th year of his reign. It was an hospital for distracted people.

"In Houndesditch, towards the street were some small cottages, of two stories high, and little garden-plots backward, for poor bed-rid people, for in that street dwelt none other, built by some prior of the Holy Trinity, to whom that ground

Fridays, weekly to walk that way purposely there to bestow their charitable alms; every poor man or woman lying in their bed within their window, which was towards the street, open so low that every man might see them, a clean linen cloth lying in their window, and a pair of beads, to show that there lay a bed-rid body, unable but to pray only. This street was first paved in the year 1503.

"About the latter reign of Henry VIII., three brethren that were gunfounders, surnamed Owens, got ground there to build upon, and to inclose for casting of brass ordinance. These occupied a good part of the street on the field side, and in a short time divers others also built there, so that the poor bed-rid people were worn out, and, in place of their homely cottages, such houses built as do rather want room than rent; which houses be for the most part possessed by brokers, sellers of old apparel, and such like.

"The house of St. Mary Spittle, gave to Henry VII. 400*l.* in the 22nd of his reign. This hospital, surrendered to Henry VIII., was valued to dispend 478*l.*; wherein was found, besides ornaments of the church, and other goods pertaining to the hospital, one hundred and eighty beds, well furnished, for receipt of the poor; for it was an hospital of great relief. Sir Henry Plesington, knight, was buried there 1452.

"In place of this hospital, and near adjoining, are now many fair houses built for receipt and lodging of worshipful persons.

"The hospital of St. Bartholomew was founded in 1102. Alfune, that had not long before built the parish church of St. Giles without Criplegate, became the first hospitaller, or proctor, for the poor of this house, and went himself daily to the shambles and other markets, where he begged the charity of devout people for their relief, promising to the liberal givers (and that by alleging testimonies of the holy scripture) reward at the hands of God.

"Sir John Wakering, priest, master of this house in the year 1463, amongst other books, gave to their common library the fairest Bible that I have seen, written in large vellum by a brother of that house named John Coke, at the age of sixty-eight years, when he had been priest forty-three years: since the spoil of that library, I have seen this book in the custody of my worshipful friend, Master Walter Cope."

After the first destruction under Henry VIII., the first effects of the attempt to restore Catholicity were the restoration of hospitals. So he says:—

"This hospital of Savoy was again new founded, erected, corporated, and endowed with lands by Queen Mary, the third of

not to be forgotten) stored the same of new with beds, bedding, and other furniture, in very ample manner, &c.; and it was by patent so confirmed at Westminster the 9th of May."

England was covered with houses of charity, of which the history is often curious and edifying. Sopwell, near St. Alban's, was founded by Geoffry, abbot of St. Alban's in 1140, on his observing two poor women dwelling there in a wretched hut of their own constructing, and living a meek austere life on bread and water, and in regular devotion to God. Their piety induced him to build a house for their comfortable living, and to bestow on them some possessions. He appointed also a chapel and a cemetery, and he limited the number of the community to thirteen. Frequently the origin of great hospitals was some ingenious device of charity in a minute and obscure form, as when John Leonard of Sicily took pity on the poor boys that idled through the streets of Rome, and hired several houses to lodge them in, which became later the Holy Institute of the Literati, near Domitian's arch.

It would be long to note all the signals furnished by the hospitals of the Continent, though at a few we may cast a glance in passing. The hospital of the Holy Spirit, at Rome, founded by Pope Innocent III., is styled by Theodorus Amydenus " the most famous in all the world." We need not stop to consider its magnificent church and other buildings, containing pictures and " every thing that may advance the devotion of Christians," but we should remark its yearly revenue, which amounts to 37,500 pounds sterling; the monks and friars who daily visit it " feeding the sick with the word of God, and bringing them early fruits and the first of all sorts that the season affords, and sweetmeats and refreshing things from foreign parts;" and its coaches, " wherein the sick are carried out to take some fresh air when their doctors prescribe it."

In the hospital of the Holy Trinity for convalescents, persons from other hospitals were entertained during three days, that they might be wholly restored to their health, and enabled to follow their work. In Rome, besides the general asylums for all, were many national hospitals. The Flemings, the Portuguese, the Lombards, the Genoese, the Armenians, the Arragonese, the English, the French, the Illyrians, and Dalmatians, had their respective hospitals. There were others, founded by different tradesmen, and destined for their use. The bakers, the coachmen, the carriers, and the servants, had their respective hospitals, to all of which churches were attached. The hospitals for strangers and pilgrims in Rome were very remarkable. In one night, that of the most Holy Trinity has been known to count no less than 15,000 guests. In the year 1600, the number

25,500. There were also distinct houses in Rome for lodging gratuitously the different nations of the world [*]. Near the Porta Pia there was even a house founded by Pius IV. for the reception of hermits. The hospitals and other charitable institutions of Paris were proposed as an example to the English in 1687, when the work, entitled "Pietas Parisiensis," was published at Oxford. The titles alone of these institutions, as those of the Hospital of God's Children, for orphans, and that of our Lady of Pity, for the sick, were signals. Spain too was renowned for its hospitals. Thus, the humble brotherhood of the charity of our Lord Jesus Christ has, at the gates of Seville, an hospital for the poor, known by the name of the Caridad. Here every sort of want is supplied with a delicate and abundant charity that would astonish observers. The sick, the aged, the poor traveller, and all the indigent are received. The finest paintings of Murillo are on the walls, all belonging to the poor, the confraternity styling itself only their servants, as in their report, our brothers, and masters, and lords, the poor—nuestros amos y senores los pobres. It was St. John Joffre Gilabert, of the order of Mercy, who hearing of some poor idiots being exposed to suffering in the streets of Valencia, and of children being left exposed, built, with alms given to him for the purpose, the great hospital in that city to receive them, which is one of the most celebrated in Spain [†]. In 1309, Don Ramon de Morillon, baron of Algar, in the kingdom of Valencia, withdrew from the world to his barony of Algar, on the sea-coast, to serve God wholly, and assist the poor and sick in a hospital which he built for them, where peasants, and all persons wounded by pirates, who used often to invade the country, were received. To this hospital he gave all the revenues of the barony. Finally, he took the habit in the Order of Mercy, and gave his barony to the general of the order, and to his successors for ever; since which time the generals have always enjoyed the title and privileges of Baron of Algar, and as such sat in the states of the kingdom. In 1448, Barbary corsairs having landed in the night and entered the hospital, killing the monks and the sick, and pillaging every thing, the general decided that, to prevent in future such disasters, the hospital should be removed to a distance from the coast. As Baron of Algar, a vast number of gentlemen were vassals to the general, and did him homage as such: amongst these were twenty-three Moors and a Moorish lady—Hamet Habrain, Halami Zeit, Habrain Abdalla; such were their names [‡]. The modern travellers in Spain are obliged to acknow-

[*] Pietas Romana; Oxford, 1687.

ledge the magnificence of its hospitals. The vast, noble, Gothic pile of the hospital of the Holy Cross, at Toledo, was founded by Cardinal Peter Gonzales de Mandizo, archbishop of Toledo in 1504. Its position, they say, over the Tagus, "is glorious, and the building was one of the gems of the world;" nor can any chasing of Cellini surpass the elegant portal over which the Invention of the Cross is placed, with the kneeling founder and St. Helena. The hospital of St. John the Baptist, in the same city, is also a superb palace, enriched with marbles, precious paintings, and every kind of magnificence. In Italy the same character belongs to such asylums. To Brignole Genoa is chiefly indebted for her Albergo dei Poveri. He lived but for works of charity, and was the friend of St. Vincent de Paul. In his last will there is this clause, that his body be interred in the church of the Albergo, near the high altar, at that spot by which the poor are wont to go down into the hall to their devotion, in order that his dead body may ever be under the feet of the poor, whom he dearly loved during life, and that his body be clad in the dress of one of the labouring poor. The inscriptions in the Albergo are remarkable. Salvator Massolo is commemorated as voluntarily observing a life of celibacy, in order that he might possess in the poor a more numerous progeny. Every where you meet mottoes such as these—"Pater eram pauperum—Videant pauperes et lætentur—Dispersit, dedit pauperibus—Neque dicas, non est Providentia." Hieronymus de Grimaldis is commemorated, who in dividing his inheritance makes the poor coheirs with his children. Jacobus Philippus Duratius is presented, who also consoled himself for the failure of male issue with the idea that it is happier to be the father of the poor than the founder of a numerous race.

Stephen de Muniera, bishop of Zephalu, in Sicily, passing one day through the streets of Palermo, and visiting the poor from house to house, was so moved with compassion that he prevailed on the viceroy to have a vast hospital built for the poor of both sexes; and, on the festival of the Presentation of the blessed Virgin, all the poor that could be found were conducted in procession to the cathedral, where they received the communion, and thence, with the same ceremonies, were led to the house provided for them, where every want was supplied *. Nothing was too precious for the hospitable. Sir Kenelm Digby left his noble library to that of the Incurables in Paris, which was already rich by the gift of Despond, the vicar, who had left his collection to it, worth 10,000 livres. Dispersed at the Revolution, the books given by Sir Kenelm were subsequently recovered and purchased for the king's library, where they were courteously

shown to the stranger as forming one of the most magnificent treasures of that immense collection. The names alone of the Catholic hospitals, as we partly noticed before, indicate, notwithstanding the jests of the modern traveller who ridicules them, the holy and supernatural source to which they owed their origin. The hospital of St. Mary of Consolation at Rome is so called, says an old writer, "because it is a name that sounds so well to sick people *." In Spain, in a more especial form, the titles are chosen from religious associations. The hospital of Seville is called La Sangre, the blood ; or Las Cinco Llagas, the five wounds of Christ, which are sculptured over the portal. The servants employed in these houses are devoted religious persons according to the ancient custom. The fifth Council of Orleans orders that the future prelates of the church of Lyons should take care that all administrators of the hospital founded there by king Childebert, and his wife Uttrogothe, should be men of probity, fearing God †.

It would detain us too long to survey the destruction of these institutions in modern times, or to investigate the new character which they assumed under the influences either of Protestantism or of the Voltairean opinions. Necessarily undermined in the beginning by the former, in consequence of the faith which had produced and nourished them having given way before the force which established it, they were formally abolished and plundered by the latter as part of what was called the pile of superstition which the new philanthropists supposed themselves called upon to overthrow. In these times the boasts of those who advocate, as of late at Brompton amidst the cheers of a select assembly, the substitution of what is called the voluntary principle for the fixed revenue of Catholic ages, are not calculated to obscure the central light of faith to wanderers on the road of sympathy with the afflicted. "Your fathers too," said the late minister of Louis Philippe to the subscribers to the hospital of that suburb, "felt a deep sympathy for all the sufferings of mankind, and undertook to relieve them. They tried to provide at once for the future life of such institutions. They endowed them the first day with permanent revenues. They believed that such revenues would be sufficient. They confided in the stability of all things around them, and the perpetual efficiency of their own good-will. Experience, and dearly bought experience, has taught us all the truth now. So now you confide in the voluntary principle, which supposes the perpetual good-will of men, as your forefathers confided in the stability of things." The assembly, thus flattered in words that might have awakened thoughts of a very different kind from what their first employment suggested,

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* Pietas Romana.

† Concil. Aurel. c. 15.

cheered the orator; but it may be permitted still to doubt whether their self-congratulations were as enlightened as they were perhaps generous; at all events it may be permitted still to affirm that the relief of the poor in such asylums, of which Catholicism would secure the perpetual stability, without laying fresh burdens on each generation, opens an avenue to the Catholic Church, which ought in consequence to attract them, under the pressure of sickness, or age, or calamity, to its maternal bosom.

But now the road enters upon a gloomy, solitary tract, which tells of times of more than ordinary suffering; for years of famine have occurred at all periods of the world, and we may naturally be invited to contrast the condition of the poor, when such calamities befall them in modern times, where the influence of Catholicity is either unknown, or neutralized by antagonistic principles, with their state under a similar visitation, when that influence was predominant, and productive of those admirable results which are related in authentic history. Abraham, with his wife, fled from the famine of his own country, and went into Egypt, and dwelt there; as did also Elimelech, and Jacob, and Isaac his father; for in the time of the kings famine often prevailed; and, as Stengelius observes, "adeo metuenda res est fames, ut homines cogat patriam cum exilio mutare." "Pestilence," he says, "makes men better; hunger worse. Hunger persuades to evil." What must it do when allied with the new theories which alternately excite and disappoint a feverish craving? "Famem patientur ut canes, et circuibunt civitatem;' that is, barking, "Nam ecce loquentur in ore suo, et gladius in labiis eorum." In Catholic times, thoughtful, meditative men, unlike the most celebrated leaders of public opinion in our age, found no difficulty in accounting for the worst calamities to which mankind are exposed, which only gave occasion to the increased exercise of divine charity, and which kept the minds of the multitude, in the absence of systematic perversion, impressed with a salutary sense, both of their dependence for subsistence upon God, and of the mysterious ways of his kind providence in providing for the salvation of the innocent, when joined on earth with sinners. "Such intervals occur," says Stengelius, "by a wonderful providence of God,—hoc enim pacto superbia nostra deprimitur, et cristæ, quas in cœlum erigimus, in terram inclinantur *." The prohibition of the poor to migrate, after the example of Abraham, in time of famine, which has so lately, in a Protestant country, been proposed as a remedy, its neglect being considered pregnant with disastrous results, though a very ancient device, was never advocated with impunity in Catholic

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* Georg. Stengelius. Cibus esurientium, hoc est æquitas et justitia Dei homines punientis, quando in terris fames est, p. 29.

ages; Stengelius, laying down the Catholic law of nations, proceeds to prove "tempore famis peregrinos urbibus non esse excludendos." St. Ambrose had denounced the heathen practice of excluding strangers, in time of famine, as inhuman; and he cited the instance of brute animals, which seem to regard as common all the food that the earth supplies *. Indeed, from early times the Catholic Church was observed, during such intervals, wisely pleading and legislating for the poor, and denouncing the cruelty of the rich, who complied not with her injunctions. St. Gregory Nyssen describes how St. Basil acted during a great famine †. "Nothing," he says, "in these evils was more bitter or dreadful than the cruelty and insatiable cupidity of those who hoarded up the corn." St. Ambrose also speaks of the cruel industry and inhuman avarice of those who speculated on the price of corn during a year of scarcity, who would pray for a malediction on the land, that their granaries might yield them profit, and whose gain is the public loss ‡. In the ninth century, we find enactments against those who would seek profit from the distress of others in time of scarcity. "Quicunque tempore messis vel vindemiæ, non necessitate, sed propter cupiditatem, comparat, annonam vel vinum, verbi gratia, de duobus denariis comparat, modium unum, et servat usque dum venundetur denariis quatuor, aut sex, aut amplius, hoc turpe lucrum dicimus §." In the year 1258 a scarcity occurring, and corn being sent to London from Germany, Henry III. forbade the citizens to purchase any portion of it for a deposit in the town-hall, with a view to its being sold out afterwards dearer to the poor ||. Mathieu Paris, nourished with traditions of Catholic charity, complains indeed of the rich in England in the year 1234, for not assisting the poor during the scarcity. "Alms," he says, "which increase riches, were not dispensed; and the rich were struck with such blindness, that they suffered the poor, Christians, men created in the image of God, to perish for want of nourishment ¶." The monks, no doubt, might confidently complain when such instances occurred, their own conduct being so different, though Cæsar of Heisterbach furnishes an example to show that they too might have had their temptations to overcome. "In Brabant," he says, "is a house of our order, called Vilarius, in which guests and the poor have been always liberally provided for, as they are still. This year, a scarcity prevailing, the brethren, fearing a deficiency of means, through a diabolic

* Lib. iii. de Officiis, c. 7.

† Orat. in Laudes Basil. Magn.

‡ Lib. iii. de Officiis.

§ Regino Abb. Prum. De Eccles. Discip. lib. i. 133.

|| Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1258.

¶ Id. ad ann. 1234.

temptation resolved to withdraw the usual assistance to the poor until the harvest. The same night, as one of the monks related to us, the reservoir beyond the cloister burst, and inundated part of the convent, with great injury to the house. The brethren, as just and timorous men, ascribing this loss to their sins, and especially to their late avaricious counsel respecting the poor, rescinded their previous order, and dispensed their bounty as before *." But, to whatever cause may be ascribed the neglect of the rich in England in the year 1234, there can be no doubt as to the general results of faith on similar occasions. It would be a striking spectacle to view the works of charity emanating from the Catholic religion, which were called forth by seasons of this melancholy kind in times past; for the Catholic Church, with all men influenced by it, like our Lord, has compassion on the multitude, and, heedless of what economists prescribe, provides food for them in the desert, lest they should faint by the way. In 1258, during the famine in England, we find that the rich had returned to Catholic manners in this respect, for the same historian relates that criers used to be sent through the streets of London, calling out, "Good people, good people, go to the house of such a nobleman to partake of his bread;" and the herald then told them the exact spot whither they should repair to receive alms †. Walter Sufeld, bishop of Norwich, in a time of famine, distributed among the poor all his plate, his spoons, and his whole treasure ‡. A great famine afflicting France in the year 1649, and the ravages of war having been added in the following year, a pious magistrate devoted himself to assist the poor, and, with the aid of some charitable persons, saved from death the two whole provinces of Picardy and Champagne. In the first six months, more than eighty thousand francs were sent from Paris. In the three months following thirty-two thousand francs, besides twenty thousand francs to purchase seed, of which twelve thousand were given by four persons alone. In order to perpetuate the results, this religious magistrate compiled and published an admirable work, entitled "l'Aumosne Chrestienne, ou la tradition de l'Eglise touchant la Charité envers les Pauvres," a book so excellent in all its parts, that even the approbations of the rectors and curates at the beginning, one of whom styles himself Henry du Hamel, curé indigne de St. Médéric, cannot be read without spiritual profit: "Ce n'est point pour approuver cet ouvrage," say these authorities, "que les noms des docteurs paroissent icy: We do not study in Christian academies, as in those of philosophers, to constitute ourselves judges of the doctrine of those who have

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* Lib. iv. c. 60.

† Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1258.

‡ Id. ad ann. 1257.

preceded us in the faith, to give a new face to religion, and a new morality to the faithful. Our philosophy is more humble; we receive, we do not make religion." The tenor of this deposit can be expressed in the words of the Greek epistle ascribed to St. Barnabas, saying, "Give alms to those who ask your assistance; that is the way of light;" or in those of St. Justin Martyr, in his second apology, addressed to Marcus Aurelius, saying of the Christians of his time, "If while Pagans we were passionate in the increase of our worldly possessions, after our conversion we give to all the poor." And now, let us remark, that in consideration of the relief of the poor during intervals of famine or scarcity, the Catholic Church in all ages stands eminently conspicuous to every one who journeys on this road with a desire of alleviating the distress of men; for, if we turn our faces from it, what do we observe? Protestantism offering soup to a perishing people, on condition that they renounce the Catholic faith; political economists demonstrating that to dispense alms under such circumstances would be opposed to the philosophy of the modern civilization; while men who are not moved by such principles find profit in being angry, as if to verify the maxim,

"Odisse quam donare vilius constat."

Others, indeed, reject the cheaper of the two proceedings, and give—give largely, munificently, if you will; but with what grace? "The leading organs of public opinion in England," says a foreign observer, not prejudiced against either the religious opinions or the character of those whom, in this instance, he criticizes most reluctantly, "are launching out fire and flames against Ireland. It is a concert of recriminations and maledictions. The sister country gives her millions, but it must be confessed that they are dearly earned; and that it is impossible for alms to be thrown in the face of a whole people with greater insult and more bitter disdain *."

But now, returning to the ordinary phenomena observable on the road of the poor, let us proceed slowly, and even tediously, perhaps, as some will complain, in order to watch the operation of the Catholic principles respecting alms on the different classes of mankind in their conduct towards the distressed and indigent, that we may feel assured how by the love of love, and a desire of witnessing pity extended to all the miserable, the soul of man can be led to embrace with fervour the faith of the Catholic Church, of which the fruits in this respect are so incomparable, that the ungracious task of contrasting them with what grows elsewhere may be henceforth omitted or left to the solitary

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* Journal des Debats.

thoughts of those to whom that complement of proof may appear desirable.

"Ab infantio crevit mecum miseratio," said Job, "et de utero matris meæ egressa est mecum." The Catholic religion transmits and perpetuates such manners. Accordingly, the first we overtake on this road are children and youths dropping their obol into the poor wanderer's hat, or enrolling themselves in the society of the Holy Childhood, to save by yearly contributions Chinese infants. A boy in the service of a Milanese gentleman, one sultry day, riding near Soncino, met a poor monk carrying his wallet, who seemed very weary. He offered to take him up behind him; but the monk would only suffer him to take the wallet. Arrived at a ferry, the boy insisted on paying the toll for him, and then carried the sack the whole way to his destination. The monk, on parting, took note of his name. The lad, of course, thought no more of it; but some years afterwards he was summoned to Rome, in order to fill a place in the palace of St. Pius V., for he it was whom he had relieved as a poor strange monk, little thinking that they were ever to meet again in this world. Charity to the poor, to mendicants, and all strangers, had distinguished Adrien of Utrecht, afterwards Pope, from the days of his boyhood. But hear an instance given with more details: Gregorius Tilianus, a most learned youth, being found in sickness lying on a poor bed, which he had chosen expressly for its wretchedness, the visitor said, "I am ashamed to see you lying like a needy beggar." "Say, rather, like a king or emperor," he replied cheerfully. "Do they not, in time of war, lie as roughly?" In his last hour he ordered the poor to be convoked and admitted. These were already in the vestibule, and so eager to enter, it was difficult to keep them back. "Let them enter," he says, "and not suffer Christ to wait before the door; and distribute my alms to them in my presence, and say to each not to return thanks, as it is in payment of what I owe to them, and not a gift. Then dismiss them, and invite them to return to supper." It was a touching sight to observe the grief of the poor as they pressed in to their friend. The blind, the lame, orphans, widows, the aged, epileptics, and lepers, and those suffering from all sorts of maladies and calamities, all wept but Gregory, who had a smiling countenance as he spoke to console them, adding, "Not alone to the poor does God show mercy, but also to those who do good to the poor." In disposing of his property, he ordered that even his books should be sold, and the price given to the poor. "Sell it," he says, "either in whole or in parts, and spare not the nobility of books; for there is nothing on earth so noble and precious that it ought not to be employed to the glory of Christ, and that cannot be extended more by assisting the poor. I wish we had the gold of Arabia, that we

might distribute it with the books; but, as we have not that, act courageously, and break up this library, however you may prize it, and give all to them *." Castilionæus Sabbas, of Milan, was another youth remarkable for his learning in Greek and Latin; and, for his charity to the poor, we read that he never sent away any indigent person without having given him alms. He afterwards consecrated a great part of his fortune in founding schools for poor boys and girls, at Faventia and Bologna. On his tomb were these lines:—

"Qualis fuerim, nec ego scivi, nec tu quæras.
Quisquis es, si pius es, deprecare Deum pro me.
Hospes sospes abi, vale, et vive memor lethi.
Vivens morituro mihi posui
Mortalium vita, ortus, labor et mors †."

St. Thomas of Villanova, when a lad going to school, used to give the half of whatever he had to poor children. Here we might make a long halt with these young almoners. But we must not confine our observation to the boys and maidens who walk first in this procession. After passing yon old sepulchre, we may direct our eyes to others. In the old church of Long Pont, formerly a Benedictine abbey, on the tomb of Charles Paul Claude de Maillé, who died in his thirteenth year, we read, "Short life! but distinguished by a great charity for the poor."

On the road of the schools we had incidental proof how remarkably compassion to the poor, and alms, belonged to the character of Catholic learned men. Many of these might here be noticed, each deserving of the praise bestowed on St. Eadbert, archbishop of Lindisfarn, "Homo eruditus, erga pauperes aureus ‡." Such was Johannes Standonht, who founded colleges in usum pauperum studiosorum at Mechlin, Cambrai, Louvain, Valencienne, and Paris, and who died of grief at Paris from not being able to convert a certain impious youth. He desired to be buried in the vestibule of the chapel of his college, with this epitaph; "Pauperis mementote Standonis §." No poor man ever knocked at the door of Lopez de Vega without obtaining assistance; only, in order not to lose time, he took the precaution of always having on his table the money that he intended to distribute. If he saw a priest in penury, he used to give him a new dress from head to foot. On another road we had occasion to remark incidentally how bountiful in alms too were the great Catholic artists, who co-operated with the learned in unfolding truth. Raffaele left his paternal property to the confraternity of St. Mary of Mercy.

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* De Richebourcq, Ultima Verba Factaque, &c. † Id.

‡ Ant. de Yepes, Chron. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. ii. 393.

§ Richebourcq, Ultima Verba.

But we must suffer such men to pass, while we mark others. Tradesmen, room-keepers, and poor peasants, walk by the side of these illustrious almoners. In one who belonged to a conference of St. Vincent of Paul, in Paris, it would be unpardonable to pass by without noticing Morgue, a native of Montpellier, a man to terrify many who seem on the way to heaven, when they observed with what ease and simplicity he, in this nineteenth century, after hearing all the economists, fulfilled to the very letter the precepts and counsels of our Lord, in regard to charity. With his own hand he would lead the blind to their parish church, and all his time was at the disposal of the poor. In London were formerly many like him. Such was that Simon Eyre, described by Stowe, who died in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry VI. He was buried in the parish church of St. Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard-street: he gave by his testament, which I have read, to be distributed to all prisons in London, or within a mile of that city, somewhat to relieve them. More, he gave two thousand marks, upon a condition, which, not performed, was then to be distributed to maids' marriages, and other deeds of charity; he also gave three thousand marks to the drapers, upon condition they should, within one year after his decease, establish perpetually a master or warden, five secular priests, six clerks, and two choristers, to sing daily Divine service by note for ever, in his chapel of the Leaden Hall; also one master, with an usher, for grammar, one master for writing, and the third for song, with housing there newly built for them for ever; the master to have for his salary ten pounds, and every other priest eight pounds, every other clerk five pounds six shillings and eight pence, and every other chorister five marks; and if the drapers refused this to do, within one year after his decease, then the three thousand marks to remain to the prior and convent of Christ's Church in London. A modern author relates, that a merchant in Spain once said to him, "A rich Spanish tradesman would laugh at you if you talked to him of keeping his carriage; but ask him for alms, and he will think nothing of giving you a hundred, five hundred, or a thousand dollars." The generous hospitality shown to all poor strangers by Alphonso Garzia and his wife Lucia Martinez, the parents of St. Thomas of Villanova, who seemed to have inherited that virtue from them, might also be cited here, as they were persons of the middle class. A modern English traveller, relating his arrival at Bozzolo, a poor deserted town, supplies another instance, though in a jesting style; for he says, that "the landlord of the miserable inn, according to his weekly custom, was distributing infinitesimal coins among a clamorous herd of women and children, whose rags were fluttering in the wind and rain outside his door, where they were gathered to receive his

charity." He was not aware, probably, that in Italy innkeepers have been founders of hospitals for the poor, as can be witnessed in that of St. Lazarus, near the Porta Angelica, at Rome, where before was an inn, of which the landlord gave his property to form this church and hospital. "In general," the same traveller remarks, that, "in Catholic countries, the poor mendicant is permitted to enter the place of resort for taking ice or coffee, which he never leaves without some relief, either from the landlord, his servants, or the guests. The relieved and grateful poor are, in fact, associated in the memory of all travellers with the marble pavilions and odoriferous groves in which, when wearied after a sultry day, they have taken their refreshment. But now, after seeing pass those whose means render the practice of charity, at least on a small scale, as easy as it is strictly obligatory, let us observe the poor themselves, who form no inconsiderable part of the long train following this road, not only as the objects, but as the dispensers of alms, for such is their occasional ministry every where, though it is only of Spain that a traveller remarks, that a beggar will invite the passenger to share with him his last crust of bread. You talk of Catholic nations keeping the multitude in ignorance of the Bible: foolish men, look up; and, lo! you will see in action here revived and perpetuated the sweetest and most glorious passages of the Book of God. When the word of the Lord came to Elias the Tishbite, providing for his sustenance, the person who was to supply his necessities was to be a poor widow, whom he was to meet without the city gate gathering sticks, preparing for herself and child the last meal which she could hope to procure before resigning herself to death. The spirit of God moved in the human heart then, as now, within the Catholic Church. That widow, filled with reverence for the prophet of God, had faith in the providence of God; and the food that was to support herself and child for one day longer, she gave up to the holy stranger. France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Ireland, might see this charity in action still; for the poor indigent creatures that we meet now, murmuring on their beads, would all perform the part that was then inspired; and in their acts of devoted charity we find another admirable issue through which the force and divine truth of Catholicity are gloriously conspicuous.

"During many ages," it must be acknowledged, says Count Molé, in a discourse before the French Academy, "Christianity alone, proclaiming, not the equality of the condition, but the identity of the vocation of the human race, had shown that all men were called to the practice of the same virtues, and to another life after the present by the same actions. Admirable social principle! which maintains equality with degree, discipline with independence, and distributes among all with an inflexible equity the true goods,

which consist in the esteem and gratitude of our fellow-creatures, and the rewards of heaven in the eternal life. These motives, so true and simple, though so elevated, respecting the nature of man and his destination upon earth, emanated from the Gospel; and during many centuries the Christian orators and moralists had propagated them, causing them to enter into the domain of human reason, where philosophy, without taking account of their origin, endeavoured to draw glory to itself from their excellence: but, without its aid, they had penetrated into all minds, into all hearts, and had changed the relations of men towards each other. The identity of vocation was recognized by the poor, and hence, he continues, the task which devolves upon us to speak of these persons in humble life, who have merited admiration by their charity to others." He then cites two examples; the first being that of Magdalen Saulnier, of the rural village of St. Etienne-la-Varenne, in the department of the Rhone. Pious from her cradle, she used to distribute every day to the neighbouring poor part of the provision that she received for herself to take into the fields; though of weak constitution, she used to walk long distances to visit other poor and give them alms, which she had begged from the rich. During fifteen years, she supported thus a blind man and his idiot daughter, daily visiting them, though separated from her home by a league and a half. A poor leper in the hamlet of Grandes-Bruyères had no one else to approach her during eighteen months but Magdalen, in whose arms she breathed her last. In 1840, during the inundations of the Rhone, she narrowly escaped from being drowned while conveying her daily provision to another poor woman in the hamlet of the Grange-Maçon, and when, reproached for her imprudence, she replied, "Why, what would you have me to do? I had not been to her the day before." In the depth of winter, in 1835, she had discovered a poor woman, named Mancel, living far away in a hut, more like a wild beast's den than a human habitation. This poor creature was ill, and Magdalen would not leave her alone. Towards the close of a long night, a thick snow covering the ground, she lighted some sticks, which caused so great a smoke that she opened the door to let in fresh air, when a wolf stood ready to dispute with Death its prey. It required all her efforts, aided only with a large stone, to keep the door closed against the furious animal, which howled and struggled for entrance till the dawn. Some hours after the woman expired. Then Magdalen, fearing that the wolf would return, took up the body on her shoulders, and carried it to the house of the nearest peasant, who received it till the burial took place. The second example cited by Count Molé on this occasion was that of Marie-Catherine Naville, who entering the family of Madame de Létan, in 1808, at the age of eighteen, and finding that it was

sinking into distress, devoted herself to assist it; became the nurse of her sick mistress, who died in her arms; the nurse of the widower, who then fell into a state of debility, and who, unable to pay her any wages, received even his nourishment from the fruit of her former savings; after his death, the guardian of their orphan girl till her marriage. Then, on distress visiting the second home, she returned to her devoted services, giving up all claim to her arrears of wages, refusing to accept service in a house where she was basely offered 20,000 francs if she would leave her unfortunate master and mistress; then, on their falling sick, she watched them through a long malady, and closed their eyes when they expired. Then she transferred her devotion to their helpless orphan daughter, whose education she is at this moment pursuing, at the age of fifty-two years, which have been spent thus in assisting an unfortunate family, with whom only the chance of service placed her originally in relation. We can judge from such narratives how well the old poet painted from living manners, when, in the Miracle de Nostre Dame de Saint Jehan le Paulu, he represents the hostess saying of her servant-maid, "If I and my husband should die on our pilgrimage, this sweet creature has, I know, such courage, that she will not keep all our money to herself, but will give alms for us also." Count Molé concludes his discourse with these words: "What charity could surpass the charity of these two poor French maidens? and yet, if it had not been for the institution founded by De Montyon, it would have passed on the earth unknown."

After walking thus some space with the charitable poor, we next overtake knights and travellers marshalled in the almoner's procession. "The knight," says Antonio de Guevara, "who is not a worldling, but a Christian, would rather that the poor should pray for him at his death than that jesters and comedians should praise him while alive for his liberality. What will their thanks avail him if he has refused bread to the poor? I admonish—I exhort—I require, in Jesus Christ, all knights and Christian gentlemen, to pay a strict attention to what they expend, and on whom and to what remains of them, to what they give, to what they deny, and to whom; for the necessities of the poor should be more pressing in their regard than the vanities of jesters*." So William of Newbury, speaking of the crusaders, says that "the money of all those who died in this peregrination, which they had taken with them to support their servants and bear aid to Jerusalem, and to sustain the poor, was divided by discreet men, and applied accordingly †." The Cid, in his testament, says, "Let my beloved Chimena pay every year

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* L'Horloge des Princes, lib. iii. 1360.

† Guil. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. lib. iii. 22.

ten maravedis, in order to marry poor orphans: also, let her give seven reals to build a house of hospitality for pilgrims who pass by." In the same will we read, "To the holy confraternity of the rich poor Lazarus, I bequeath the meadow of Biva." In the romancero beginning "Celebradas ya las bodos," the Cid goes on pilgrimage to St. James. He leads with him twenty gentlemen, and gives great alms on the road, in honour of God and of St. Mary. When about half way, he finds a leper sunk in a rut of mire from which he cannot extricate himself. When the Cid hears his lamentations, he alights from his horse, pulls him out, places him on the crupper, and takes him to the same inn where he lodges himself, and makes him eat at his own supper table. In the Mystery de Nostre Dame d'Amis et d'Amille, when Amille sees Amis as a strange leper, he says to his servant, "Henry, Advance, take a hanap full of wine, and bread, and meat, and carry it to that leper without—pour que Dieu nous soit misericors au derrain jour;" and then Henry says to the leper, "Brother, here is meat, and bread, and wine;" and Amille, addressing the leper, says, "My friend—que Dieu vous donne son amour—whence are you?" St. John Colombin and Francis Vincent, gentlemen of Sienna, going one day together to the cathedral to hear mass, were so struck with pity at the wretched aspect of a poor leper who lay at the portal, that the former took him upon his shoulders, and carried him to his own house to have him refreshed and dressed*. The blessed Hugo de Lacerta before entering the order of Grandmont, when a knight in the world, was not neglectful of the poor, receiving monks and others to hospitality, and giving to the labouring poor wood and other necessary things—in omnibus et per omnia magis Christo obediens quam sæculo †. How many whole orders existed, composed of knights like those of St. John in the Holy Land, and of St. Lazarus in the maladreries of Europe, who were devoted to the service of the poor! The traveller, in every class of society, was a great almoner. Thus we read of a count of Champagne, who, before setting out on a long journey, recommended himself to the prayers of a poor beggar, charging his steward to provide him with nourishment during his absence ‡.

Nobles, men of great power, now throng the way, amongst whom we must take note of some by name as they pass on majestical. Odelric Manfredi, count of Turin and marquis of Italy, is praised by the blessed Peter Damian for having on an Easter Day made to sit at his table in his palace a numerous troop of

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* Ant. d'Avéroult, Cat. Hist. vii. tit. 9.

† Annales Ord. Grand. i.

‡ Ant. d'Avéroult, Cat. Hist. i. 196.

poor whom he served, humbly and affectionately, with his own hands, in presence of his court, contented to eat for his own dinner the remnants of what was provided for them*. Alluding to a banquet given to all the poor of Rome by Alethius, a rich young nobleman, St. Paulinus says, "Beata esset nostra conditio, si æque Deo, ut hominibus, vel displicere timeremus vel curaremus placere †." Yet how prodigious is the number of rich men, in Catholic times and countries, who fulfilled, like him, this great condition of beatitude! Let us observe a few. "Chrodinus was a man of great piety," says St. Gregory of Tours, "a profuse almoner and feeder of the poor, a benefactor of the churches, a nourisher of clerks; for he often gave farms, and vineyards, and villas, with every thing needful for the culture of the land, to poor churches, with money, and ornaments, and vestments, saying to the bishops, whom he invited to a feast, 'Let these be given to your churches to nourish the poor, that, while the poor are supported by these means, they may obtain pardon for me from God‡.'" The alms of Alphonso, count of Poitiers and of Toulouse, brother of St. Louis, and of Jane his wife, were immense. It appears, from the Trésor des Chartres de Toulouse§, that on the Monday and Tuesday of holy week, in the year 1267, they distributed 895 livres tournois, their united revenues not then exceeding 45,000 livres tournois. The next year, when about to pass to the Holy Land, the count gave thirty livres tournois to eight convents. Of Joffroi, Seigneur de Sergines, in the time of St. Louis, Rutebeuf sings,—

"Mult amoit Dieu et Sainte Yglise;
Si ne voulist en nule guise,
Envers nului foible ne fort,
A son pooir mes prendre à tort.
Ses povres voisins ama bien:
Volentiers lor donoit du sien,
Et si donoit en tel manière
Que miex valoit la bele chière
Qu'il fesoit au doner le don
Que li dons."

Stowe says, that among annual expenses in the house of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in time of Edward III., he reads, "Item, one hundred and sixty-eight yards of russet cloth, and twenty-four coats for poor men, with money given to the poor on Maundy Thursday, 8*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*" The poor were then found assembled at certain hours before every great man's gate, with no official watching to arrest them. In the romance of Count Garci Fer-

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* Opusc. de Eleemos.

† Epist. xxxiii. ad Aleth.

‡ Hist. lib. vi. 20.

§ Sac. 8. No. 45.

nandez, beginning, Castilla estaba muy triste, Donna Sancha says to a waiting woman, "Friend, have you ever gone among the poor who receive their allowance at my father's gate? Well, go thither, and remark whether there be amongst them, asking alms, any one who has the air of a gentleman; and, if so, lead him to me, for I wish to speak with him. She went, and there she found and singled out the Count of Castille, poor and ill clad; but she judged from his air and hands that he was the man." How many nobles in the middle age and in Catholic countries—how many still do we find resembling Duke Richard in the old poem, leading a holy life at Rouen, and of whom it says, "Bien confortoit les poures et sainte Eglise aima[*]!" "Duke Godefroy," says an old historian, "excelled in divine things—quia largus erga pauperes, erga delinquentes vero misericors fuit[†]." To give, to distribute, seemed the chief occupation of the Catholic noble. "Alas!" cries Don Fernand to his fellow captives in the gardens of the Moor at Fez, "alas! how painful to be able to give you nothing but advice! My soul is confounded when I see you depart without having received the least present from me. Ah! what grief for me to give you nothing[‡]." Richard Fitz-Alaine, earl of Arundel, being led through London to execution on Tower Hill, when leaving the palace of Westminster desired that his hands might be loosed, to dispose of such money as he had in his purse betwixt that place and Charing Cross. This was permitted, and so he gave such money as he had in alms with his own hands; but his arms were still bound behind him[§]. Though we have often on other roads met the charitable ladies of the feudal towers, we cannot refuse to pause a moment here under these trees again to see them pass. The very term of lady is said to be derived from the custom in Saxon times of the lady of the manor to distribute with her own hands a certain quantity of bread once a week, or oftener, to the poor, who, in consequence, used to designate her as leff-day, which signifies the bread-giver. Here a glance at a few will be sufficient. St. Elizabeth may well be distinguished, as in the old mystery,—

"S'aucun povre oist esmaier,
Qui deist; Je ne puis paier;
Je ne sai quel conseil y'i mète,
Ele paioit por lui la dète."

In the street de l'Aiguille, at Bruges, is shown a chamber, venerated vestige of the vast ancient house, where lived the husband

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[*] Roman. de Richart.

[†] Belli Sacri Historia ap. Mab. Museum Italic.

[‡] The Constant Prince.

[§] Beattie's Castles and Abbeys of Eng.

of St. Godeliebe, in which a pious tradition affirms that she used to make shirts for the poor. The blessed Kunegund, second foundress of that venerable monastery of Dissentis, which the Swiss "liberals" have this year burnt down, after the death of her husband on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, consecrated all her possessions to God, founding that monastery which was not far distant from her castle of Wengavian. "Thence, every night," says the chronicle of that abbey, "attended by one maid, she used to descend in order to visit the church of the monastery, of which the doors used to be opened to her by the hands of angels. On one occasion, however, after having taken a stick from the hedge of a poor rustic, in order to sustain her steps through the water and slippery mud, caused by heavy rains, she found on arriving that the gates were shut. Wondering why the doors were thus closed against her, and descending into herself to examine her conscience, she could recollect nothing, till her maid said, 'Must it not be in consequence of your having taken the stake from the poor peasant's hedge, and left a gap in it?' According to the suggestion, she immediately restored it." This holy woman was buried in the church of the monastery with this epitaph, "Cunizza Peccatrix hujus loci Dominatrix istam construens, ob. 1020*. The tender conscience of the Catholic mediæval woman led to immense results in favour of the poor. The city and county of Mâcon falling to the crown of France is a proof of it: for in the year 1245 the heiress was the countess of Màcon, who, on coming into possession, wrote immediately to St. Louis to offer for sale all her rights on the city and county; for she proposed, she said, to take a religious habit. The King having accepted the offer, and paid an enormous sum of money, the countess distributed it all among the poor, and for other pious uses, and then took the veil in a convent near Pontoise, the abbey of Maubuisson, founded by Queen Blanche, leaving thus an eternal example of humility to the great. The suburb of Pontoise, leading to this abbey, was therefore called afterwards the Faubourg de l'Aumône. This is the account given by Mathieu Paris †.

But, confining our observation to the Catholic ladies of a more recent epoch, we find immortal examples upon this road. Bossuet, in his funeral sermon on the Princess Palatine, that Anne de Gonzagues, who united in her veins, as he said, with the blood of the Gonzagues and of Cleves, that of Paleologus of Lorraine and of France, thought that he could not elevate higher the glory of her ancestors than by commemorating the immensity of their alms. The duke her father, he said, had left a foundation on his estates for marrying every year sixty girls;

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* Raderus, Bavaria San ta, iv. 28.

† Ad ann. 1245.

and Anne de Gonzagues, worthy of such a father, used to write to the persons charged with dispensing her alms in this style, "I am delighted that the house for our good old women is so far advanced. Let us hasten to remove them from the wretched huts in which they now are lodged." And again, "I trust that God will give me health that I may wait upon that poor palsied person with my own hands, and so joining my pains to hers, offer them with more confidence to God."

Count Molé, who cites the passage, concludes that France is truly the country of alms; and it must be acknowledged that her high and puissant ladies, in times past, have been always distinguished for the fervour with which they practised charity towards the poor. In the règlement donné par une dame de haute qualité à sa petite fille, treating on the management of estates in the eighteenth article, and stating the expenses in the administration of each property, there is this notice, which is significative: "Pour les pauvres de chaque terre—tant." In the seventeenth century Madame de Miramion, a beautiful and immensely rich widow in her sixteenth year, retired to the Sœurs Grises, and consecrated thenceforth all her revenues to relieve the poor. Madame de Sevigné, speaking of her, says, "Cette mère de l'Eglise." But a glance, as others pass, must content us now. This holy lady of Miramion, the ladies of la Pelhie, of Lamoignon, Marie des Ursins, the Duchesse de Montmorency, Madame Pallalion, the ladies de Chauvigny, de Dampierre, Anne Martinozzi, duchesse de Conty, Madame de Maquelay, Anne de Caumont,—such are some of the most eminent of the friends of the poor, whose memory will be for ever as a signal pointing to the Catholic Church. These traditionary manners, wherever Catholicity has had free action, have descended to our time. Hersart de la Villemarque relates, that the origin of his work on the Popular Songs of Britany was the charity of his mother. "My mother," he says, "who is also the mother of the poor, had restored to health, thirty-six years before, a poor singing beggar. This poor woman, to express her gratitude, used to sing some of her old songs; and some of them so struck my mother's fancy as specimens of the Breton poesy, that she used often afterwards to ask a song from beggars of the same class *." Many of these songs are themselves witnesses of the charity of women. Thus the young heiress of Keronlaz, who had disdained the Marquis of Mesle for his avarice, when constrained to become his spouse, on promising the poor to give them alms every day at Chateaugal, hearing from him, "that you shall not do; for my property would not be adequate," replies, "Without taking from your stores, Sir, I will give alms, in order

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* Chant. Pop. de la Bret.

to obtain prayers for our souls." Men invested with civil authority now follow in the train of almoners, for, thanks to the pulpit and the confessional, the public and popular impressions on this subject were too strong for persons of any class, even supposing them through a religious sense unaffected, to pay no tribute to the duty which alleviated the condition of the poor. John de Medicis, on his death-bed, said to his sons, "If you do not depart from the manners of your ancestors, the people will always give you dignities. To prevent it from being otherwise, be merciful to the poor, sweet and gentle towards those who have possessions, and be prompt to assist those who are in adversity." The presence of the poor, in Catholic times, was deemed essential to the solemnity and efficacy of a public celebration. In 1694, at the great procession of the shrine of St. Geneviève, in Paris, at which the court and parliament, and all the chief dignitaries of the kingdom assisted, all the poor of the different parishes of the capital walked with them, conducted by the Ladies of Charity, as also all the poor of the hospitals, divided into classes, each carrying a little banner; and it is said that the children sung in such a moving tone that they drew tears from all present *. Men in high station, having sometimes views of their own, are not left without especial warnings on this road. "If he who has not given to the poor," says St. Thomas of Villanova, "will be condemned, whither will he be hurled who has robbed them and oppressed them †?" The narratives current among the people, and propagated by holy writers, of the terrible consequences of neglecting or of injuring the poor, acted, beyond question, upon the minds of the great and puissant lords who might otherwise have disdained the miserable; for all had heard of men accused before the supreme judge of having destroyed the corn of the poor with hunting-dogs ‡; all had heard of the doom of the poor man's oppressor, whether as feudal seigneur, warrior, merchant, franklin, minister of state, or simple magistrate presiding in a small locality. "There was a certain nobleman," says an old author, "an oppressor of the poor, and a lover of the world. His chamberlain, one night reclining before the room in which he slept, had a vision, in which he saw his lord summoned to judgment, doomed, and led to Lucifer, who cried, 'Let me kiss my faithful servant,' and said, as he kissed him, 'Non sit tibi pax in secula seculorum.' Then the wretched being, invited to sing, cried out, 'Cursed be the day I was born;' and, being asked for another song, cried, 'Cursed be my parents;' and again, for another, he cursed his Creator, when, at a sudden and horrible

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* Hist. de ce qui est arrivé au Tombeau de S. Gen. 80.

† Con. ii. Dom. i. Ad.

‡ Magnum Spec. 68.

crash, the chamberlain awoke, and, running to his lord's room, found him dead in his bed. The chamberlain, struck with horror, left the world, and persevered in holy religion till the end of his life *." By such narratives from the tongue of men who thoroughly believed what they recorded, the interests of the poor were certainly not injured; but the Church inspired men placed in official authority with noble resolution to cooperate with them; and in early times, when the barbaric element was strong in resisting the Catholic influence, assistance in every form was required to protect the poor. Theodulf, relating his mission into the south of Gaul as Charlemagne's envoy, describes the numerous applications made to him by self-interested men, hoping to corrupt his integrity, and induce him to connive at their opposition to the measures which the Catholic Church was producing around them. Among these, he says, "one man applies secretly to my servants, and utters in a low mysterious tone these words, which are to be repeated to me—'I possess a vase remarkable for its workmanship and its antiquity. It is of pure metal and large. The history of Hercules is graven on it Well. I offer this vase to Lord Theodulf if he will deign to favour my vows.' 'What are these vows?' 'There are numbers of men and women, of lads, and children of both sexes, to whom my father and mother gave the honour of freedom; and this multitude is emancipated: but by altering the charter we shall reap, your master this vase, I all these people, and you gifts from me.'" With men who resisted the oppressors of the poor the Catholic Church showed always a fervent sympathy; and in that respect the monk of St. Alban's, though often to be condemned, is invariably blameless. Thus, in accordance with her voice, after relating that William surnamed Long Beard, who took part with the poor of London against the mayor and aldermen, was hanged in consequence, he adds, that he perished for the defence of truth and the cause of the poor; and that, if the cause makes the martyr, no one could have a better right to the title †. "The seigneurs," he says again, in the same spirit, "extort money from the poor whenever they set out for the Crusade. Now it is clearer than the day, that the Lord detests such gains, which come from the oppression and impoverishment of the poor ‡." Cæsar of Heisterbach gives an instance of the impression excited in the monasteries whenever a poor man was treated with contumely by some neighbouring potentate. "Not long since," he says, "a certain poor man, I know not for what necessity, desiring to speak with Henry, duke of Louvain, attempted to enter his presence, but one of the chamberlains indignantly drove him out, and even

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* Magnum Spec. 376. † Ad ann. 1196. ‡ Id. 1250.

inflicted blows on him. A certain convert brother of our order seeing this groaned, and through compassion was moved to tears. The following night our Saviour appeared to him in a dream, over the altar, in great glory, saying, 'I thank you for having had compassion on me yesterday, when the duke's chamberlain treated me with such cruelty.' At whose voice the brother awoke, and understood that Christ had suffered in his member*." The chants of the Catholic Church commemorate the deliverance of the poor from these vexations and oppressions, by means of her faith instigating the saints. Thus, in reference to all dangers, those sung on the festival of St. Camillus de Lellis might be repeated—

> "Exultent miseri, turbaque pauperum ;
> Afflictus renovet pristina gaudia ;
> Infirmus redeat viribus integris ;
> Adstat Lellius omnibus †."

But the Catholic influence upon men of worldly power extended beyond the negative benefit of preserving the poor from such oppression. It tended to invest the character of official men with the grace of active charity ; and the civil laws themselves co-operated with it. The ancient laws of Aragon bear witness in the provision respecting men who die intestate and without heirs, deciding that the poor are to reap the benefit. "Si non habeant propinquos, res eorum dentur pauperibus ‡." The royal, municipal, and commercial enactments of the middle ages were also expressly in favour of the poor. In 1246 the liberties of London were declared forfeited for one false judgment having been given against a poor widow named Margaret Viel. In the thirteenth century, the rules of the trades of Paris contain these words—"Ce avons nos fait pour le profit de touz et meesmement pour les povres et pour les estranges qui à Paris vienent acheter aucune marchandise, que la marchandise soit si loiaux qu'il n'en soient deceu par le vice de li, et meesmement pour chastier ceus qui par covoitise de vilain gaaing ou par non sens les demandent et prendent contre Dieu, contre droit, et contre raison §." But let us, after this prelude to announce them, mark the presence of a few men charged with civil authority or an official office. John Berckelin, a counsellor, ordered that for ever five poor women should be lodged and nourished in a house which he left for the purpose ‖. On the tomb of Achatius Hulsius, counsellor of Charles V., we read—

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* viii. c. 29.

† Arevalus, Hymnodia Hispanica.

‡ Hieron. Blanca Arag. Rerum Comment. 59.

§ Livre des Métiers, 2.

‖ Richebourcq, Ultima Verba, &c.

"Æs dare pauperibus si quemquam juvit honestis,
Hulsius urgentes æs dedit ante preces.
Haud indonatus quisquam discessit ab ipso,
Quodque dedit lætâ non nisi fronte dedit *."

Robert Large, mercer and lord mayor of London in 1440, gave by will to his parish church of St. Olave two hundred pounds, to St. Margaret's twenty-five, to the poor twenty pounds, towards poor maids' marriages two hundred marks, to poor householders an hundred marks, and to his servant, William Caxton, twenty marks. But there are examples in Stowe still more significative. Thus Stephen Browne, grocer and mayor, in 1439 sent into Prussia, causing corn to be brought from thence, whereby he brought down the price of wheat from three shillings the bushel to less than half that money.

"Philip Malpas, one of the sheriffs in 1440, gave by his testament one hundred and twenty-five pounds, to relieve poor prisoners, and every year, for five years, four hundred shirts and smocks, forty pairs of sheets, and one hundred and fifty gowns of frieze, to the poor; to five hundred poor people in London six shillings and eight pence; to poor maids' marriages one hundred marks; to highways one hundred marks; twenty marks the year to a graduate to preach; twenty pounds to preachers at the Spittle for the three Easter holidays.

"Robert Chichley, grocer, mayor 1422, appointed by his testament, that on his minde day a competent dinner should be ordained for two thousand four hundred poor men, householders of this city, and every man to have two pence in money. More, he gave one large plot of ground, thereupon to build the new parish church of St. Stephen, near unto Walbrooke, &c.

"Henry Keble, grocer and mayor, gave to poor maids' marriages one hundred marks; to poor husbandmen in Oxford and Warwick shires one hundred and forty ploughshares, and one hundred and forty coulters of iron; and in London, to seven almsmen sixpence the week for ever.

"Thomas Knoles, grocer, and mayor in 1400, with his brethren the aldermen, began to new build the Guildhall in London, and instead of an old little cottage in Aldermanberie street, made a fair and goodly house, more near unto St. Laurence church in the Jurie: he re-edified St. Anthony's church, and gave to the grocers his house near unto the same, for relief of the poor for ever. More, he caused sweet water to be conveyed to the gates of Newgate and Ludgate, for relief of the prisoners there.

"John Hinde, draper, and mayor in 1405, newly built his

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* Richebourcq, Ultima Verba, &c.

parish church of St. Swithen by London stone: his monument is defaced, save only his arms in the glass windows.

"Simon Eyre, draper, and mayor in 1346, built the Leaden hall, for a common garner of corn, and left five thousand marks to charitable uses.

"Godfrey Bollein, mayor in 1458, gave liberally to the prisons, hospitals, and lazar-houses, besides one thousand pounds to poor householders in London, and two hundred pounds to poor householders in Norfolk.

"Richard Rawson, sheriff in 1477, gave by testament large legacies to the prisoners, hospitals, lazar-houses, to other poor, to highways, to the water conduits, besides to poor maids' marriages, three hundred and forty pounds, and his executors to build a large house in the churchyard of St. Mary Spittle, wherein the mayor and his brethren may sit and hear the sermons in the Easter holidays."

But now a more august spectacle succeeds in this procession; for kings themselves, with queens, and heirs and heiresses of crowns, pass along this road, and, as a poet says,

"Never are kings so high as when they brook
To mingle unobserved among the poor."

The administrative part of government, as it is termed, was not organized in the middle ages; but it was supplied, and even in a more sufficient manner than Cibrario supposes, by the spirit of Christian charity; for Catholicism produced times when a king of France used to defend his acts of personal humility in serving the poor by urging the example of the king of England, his contemporary, who used to exceed him, kissing lepers. Such rivalship has not marked later ages, when the banners of Protestantism and Constitutionalism had superseded those of the lily and the Catholic red cross. In the exhortation to the king of the Franks presented in the seventh century to the son of Nanthild, he is reminded of the virtues of Clotaire, who is qualified as nutritor fidelium. The Catholic duty, in regard to the poor, is pressed upon kings in the ceremony of their coronation; for the Roman Pontifical ordains, that on giving him the sceptre the pontiff should address the king in these words:—"Take the wand of virtue and truth, et esto pauperibus misericors, et affabilis viduis, pupillis, et orphanis diligentissimam curam exhibeas." The very custom and etiquette of courts bore traces of this direction. Thus, whenever the kings of France travelled, the tenth of all the bread used in their court was given to the nearest hospital; and, by an edict of the year 1309, all the straw and corn brought for the use of the court, on its departure each

morning, was to be similarly disposed of*. All the sums paid for the obtaining letters of naturalization in France were to be paid to the poor, "in order, I believe," says an ancient author, "that these poor may one day proclaim them to be naturalized citizens of the celestial kingdom †." In the year 1727, during the Jubilee, Philip V. of Spain, having secretly given a jewel of great value to a poor man, who divulged the act, the jewel having belonged to the crown, it was redeemed for twelve thousand crowns, its exact value, "as it was not thought right," adds the historian, "to diminish the amount of his alms once given."

Truly admirable and significative is the action of Catholicity in the personal conduct of those who wear crowns. What a lover of the poor was the emperor Tiberius, who gave to them all the treasure that had been amassed by his predecessor Justin! When reproved for this by the widow of the late emperor, he said, "Our treasury will not fail. Only let the poor have alms, and the captives be redeemed." Narses, having collected a vast treasure, was said to have killed the persons who knew where it was placed under ground, with the exception of one old man, who after the death of Narses, moved by the charity of the emperor, went to him and disclosed the secret. Coming to the well and opening it, the men appointed went down; and such was the immensity of the treasure, that it took many days to empty it. By this enriched, he joyfully gave more to the poor ‡. Aimon the monk relates, that king Childebert, son of Clovis, having given to St. Germain, bishop of Paris, 60,000 gold solidi to distribute among the poor, and St. Germain coming to the palace to render an account of what he had done, having only spent half the sum, Childebert demanding the reason, the bishop replied that he had still 3000 crowns left, because he could find no more poor to receive alms. The king then said, "Domine" (for so he styled the bishop), "dona quod restitit, nam, Christo largiente, quod donatur non deficit." Such a rivalship existed between this king and bishop to give alms, that these lines were graven on the king's tomb in the church of St. Germain-des-Prés:—

"Hic situs est dictus rex Chilbertus honestus,
Vir pietate cluens, probitatis munere pollens,
Millia mendicis solidorum dans et egenis
Gazarum cumulos satagebat qui abdere cœlo."

St. Gregory of Tours testifies of Gouthron, king of Orleans, that his mind had no other thought, his heart no other affection, than to give alms to the poor. Charlemagne would have thir-

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* Sebast. Rouilliard, le Grand Aulmosnier de France, 244.

† Id. 306.

‡ S. Greg. Turinens. Hist. lib. v.

teen poor men, and in the garb of beggars, at his court, in order that the aspect of their wretched raiment might remind him constantly of the other poor. King Robert had always mules kept expressly for the poor, whom he wished to accompany him on his journeys, causing them to ride before him wherever he went, desiring to hear their hymns in praise of God. In Spain and England the type and practice were still the same. King Reccarede sends from Spain a present to Pope St. Gregory, of three hundred suits of clothes for the poor, whom the church of St. Peter sustained. Suinthila, king of Spain, was surnamed the Father of the Poor. Bede relates of St. Oswald, king of England, that one Easter-day he gave to the poor, not alone the food from his own table, but even the silver dish containing it, which he caused to be broken into pieces and distributed among a crowd of indigent persons who asked alms. Of Edward the Confessor, the Church, in her lesson respecting him, reads these words: "Numquam lætior quam cum regios thesauros exhausisset in pauperes." Returning to the French monarchy, in times less remote, we find Louis-le-Gros, as Suger says, giving to the poor his royal raiments, and even to his very shirt, "Nec regiis indumentis usque ad camisiam pepercit." "Estrange charité d'un roy," exclaims the author of the Great Almoner of France, "de donner aux pauvres jusques à sa chemise!" Louis VIII. by his testament left 20,000 livres to two hundred hospitals; 10,000 livres to two thousand maladreries; 6600 livres to sixty abbeys of Premonstré; 4000 livres to forty abbeys of St. Victor; 6000 livres to sixty Cistercian abbeys; 2000 livres to twenty nunneries of the same order; 2000 livres to marry poor maidens; 3000 livres to his servants, and 4000 livres to the abbey of St. Victor, in Paris. St. Louis had always three poor men at his table. Wherever he travelled he nourished and paid all the expenses of a hundred and twenty poor. In Advent and Lent, and on the vigils and festivals, he waited on two hundred poor before he would eat or drink. His contemporary, Henry III., gave the same example in England. "I find recorded," says Stowe, "that in the year 1236, and the twentieth of Henry III., on the twenty-ninth of December, William de Haverhull, the king's treasurer, is commanded, that upon the day of circumcision of our Lord, he caused six thousand poor people to be fed at Westminster, for the state of the king, the queen, and their children; the weak and aged to be placed in the great hall and in the lesser; those that were most strong, and in reasonable plight, in the king's chamber; the children in the queen's; and when the king knoweth the charge, he would allow it in the accounts. In the year 1238, the same King Henry kept his feast of Christmas at Westminster in the great hall; so did he in the year 1241, where he placed the legate in the most honourable place of the

table, to wit, in the midst, which the noblemen took in evil part; the king sat on the right hand, and the archbishop on the left, and then all the prelates and nobles according to their estates; for the king himself set the guests; on which occasions the poor were also entertained. The like commandment the said King Henry gave to Hugh Gifford and William Browne, that upon Friday next after the Epiphany they should cause to be fed in the great hall at Windsore, at a good fire, all the poor and needy children that could be found, and the king's children being weighed and measured, their weight and measure to be distributed for their good estates. These few examples for charity of kings may suffice."

Methinks that weighing of the royal children is calculated to dwell in the memory of all who hear of it. "Who could describe," asks an old Spanish historian, "all the alms given by Ferdinand and Isabella—the doweries to enable poor maidens to marry; the sums distributed among the poor; the donations to learned men; the offerings to churches and monasteries [*]!" Of Thibaut, king of Navarre, Rutebeuf says,

"Pers aus barons, aus povres peires,
Et aus moiens compains et frères;"

in other words, he was the same to the poor as to his barons. John V., king of Portugal, who used during three days every week to give audience to all his subjects, was on these occasions seated before a table, on which was a basket full of money, to give to those who might be in want. The princes too, in Catholic times, who governed small territories, evinced a spirit, in regard to the poor, very unlike that of the petty rulers who, under the banner of the false reform, needed all the finances that they could extort from their subjects for maintaining the mimic splendour of their miniature court. St. Charles the Martyr, count of Flanders, may be their representative. Two years before his death, during a scarcity, he remitted to the farmers nearly all their rents, from which he supported his own household. In one day he distributed among the poor at Ypres 7800 loaves. "He used," says the old historian, "even to give the clothes from his person; for he would send no one away empty; and he felt the deepest compassion whenever he heard of a case of distress. He was humble to the poor, and proud to their oppressors—illos videlicet agnina lenitate demulcens, istos leonina severitate deterrens. Daily, before going to the church, he used to give alms with his own hand to the poor, while walking barefoot. Every day he gave new clothes and shoes to five poor persons, after which he went to hear mass [†]."

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[*] Marinei Siculi de Reb. Hisp. lib. xxi.

[†] Fr. Gualter. Tarvanens. Vita S. Carl. Mart. xi. xii. xxv.

Again; the holy woman devoted to the poor meets us on this road a second time, and now in royal robes crowned, and practising on a throne still the same virtues, which proclaim the efficiency of the Catholic religion upon all conditions. The empress and queen, like Leonora of Austria, esteems no title so high as that of Mother of the Poor. When Placella, wife of Theodosius, was reproved for waiting with her own hands on the sick poor, she replied, "It is the office of an empress to give gold and silver; but it is the office of a Christian woman to put her hands to the work, and to minister to the members of Christ *." "Who could tell," says an old writer, "all the treasures, farms, castles, and forests which this pious queen Bathilde gave to the houses of God and to the poor? To say the truth, no tongue, however skilful, neither ours nor that of any one else, can ever relate all the good that she did †." "The Archduchess Mary of Austria," says Drexelius, "gave almost infinite alms to the poor, not alone money, but clothes, food, medicine, books of prayers, holy images, and all instruments of piety ‡." The stranger knows not what details are given in the recent history of the queens of England, which by the general voice is so extolled: but if, comprising deeds in Catholic and Protestant times, there should be no striking facts elicited in regard to alms and charity, which can direct many, without attaching any blame to greatness, that should not be misthought for things that others did, since it deserved rather sympathy for enduring sorrows, privations, and trials most inhuman and unnatural, which the demerit long ago of others had brought upon it,—if there should be no evidence produced there which can lead observers by the love of charity to the church that once had daughters on the throne of Alfred, then, indeed, there would be reason for astonishment. But no doubt those pages will not thus prove false and insignificative. Let the reader turn to them; and he will find the jewels of ancient documents better set, to the glory of the Catholic faith, than they could ever be in this imperfect composition. We cannot wait to observe all the royal almoners that pass along this road; but we may repeat the remark of a recent author, conformable to what we before observed of the compassionate in general, that the force of Catholic instruction had so penetrated through society in times past, that even those persons who were least impressed by a sense of religion could not avoid evincing, by their actions, that it had visited their conscience. "It is but just to acknowledge," says this author, "that the charitable acts of Isabeau de Bavaria were numerous, and that they attest a great zeal to console the

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* D'Avéroult, Cat. Histor. vii. tit. 9.

† Ap. Dom. Pitra, Hist. de S. Léger, 139.

‡ Rosæ select. virtut. i. 12.

misery, which must have been very great, at the calamitous epoch when she lived. In the rank that she occupied, this charity, indeed, was prescribed to her, and in exercising it she only fulfilled her strict duty; but still its accomplishment by a person so terrible as historians represent her to have been ought to be taken into account *." The Catholic manners of queens and princesses, in regard to the poor, are, in fine, faithfully represented in all the ancient works of popular literature; from which one citation must suffice us here. In the ancient Roman de Charles-le-Chauve, several poor men enter; the first says, "Whither goest thou?" The second, "I hasten as fast as I can to be with the rest at the distribution." "By whom is it made?" "Do you not know that Clotilde, the king's niece, when she leaves the church, gives alms with her own hand to those poor who are in want?"—

"'Aus uns plus et aus autres moins
Selon ce que s'affection
Y est et sa devocion?'"

When Clotilde comes out from the moustier, they stretch out their hands, and she gives them alms and says, "Tenez, Seigneurs, priez Dieu bonnement qu'il voie d'un bon œil ce que je fais. Et en son amour toujours me tienne et en sa foy." Such access have the poor to her, that Aurelien, the pagan ambassador, in order to deliver his message, presents himself in her presence as one of them, furnishing thus another instance of what we before remarked, that indigence was the key to open palace gates.

But now the procession on this road consists of men separated to religion, in the form of monks, priests, bishops, whom, in fine, further on, we shall find the Sovereign Pontiff preceding, and giving to the whole world an example of love, and mercy, and charity to the poor, beyond which no farther access on this road to the lustrous centre can be possible.

Here, indeed, the whole forest glows with so intense a love, that, in the spiritual geography, it might be said to correspond, in the estimation of erring mortals, with those provinces of which the pagan naturalist observes, "Reliqui omnes propter solis ardorem navigari posse non putaverunt †." What more impassable to those who follow the reform banner, or that of the sophists who join with them, than the domains of monastical, clerical, episcopal, and papal charity to the poor? Here all things are strange, mythical, and surpassing belief to men of the present constitutions. "Poverty, that dame," as Dante says more poetically than truly, "to whom none openeth Pleasure's gate more

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* Le Roux de Lincy, Les Femmes célèb. de l'ancienne France.

† Plin. vi. 34.

than to Death *," finds herself invited here to make every joy and triumph perfect. "They revile poverty," says St. Gregory Nazianzen, "but I count it riches. This makes me not only boastful, but arrogant." St. Francis of Assisi felt ashamed if he found any one poorer than himself: "I am confounded †," he used to say. "The first step of the scholars of the evangelical law in our seraphic order," says Antonio de Guevara, "is to have as much envy of the poorest as we had while in the world of the richest; and so we shall follow naked him who was naked, poor him who was poor, and crucified him who was crucified, Jesus Christ ‡." These are strong words: but the deeds which follow them are stronger still, as we shall soon observe; for doctrine and practice, words and deeds, are so interwoven here, that henceforth there is no separating them. Those who walk before us now act by precept, and teach by example, both alike surpassing all mere human strength. So we may observe St. John of God singing as he passes thus; for the hymns from which I cite I found at the end of a very ancient life of the saint, which was lying open in the parlour of the holy Hospice, at Paris, belonging to his order, where all he loved is still practised to the letter:—

"Nactus sibi discipulos
Suæ doctrinæ æmulos,
Ipsos exemplo docuit,
Piis præceptis imbuit.

Hæc sanctorum scientia,
Inquit et philosophia,
Dare Deo cor intimum,
Et consolari proximum.

Christianorum pietas,
Nulla est, nulla sanctitas,
Si non primas obtineat
Charitas et emineat.

Homo conservet hominem,
Seu mendicum seu nobilem,
Ne, si quemquam respiciat,
Carnem suam despiciat.

Est divitum chirurgia
In mundo mercenaria;
Delectatur nummis datis
Familia Hippocratis.

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* Par. 8.

† Speculum Vit. S. Fran. c. 16.

‡ Sermon in a general chapter.

Charitatis Familia
Non curat pro pecunia;
Huic est omni pro precio
In cœlis retributio."

But every want of human nature meets its assistant under the cowl; even simple indigence having its best provision at the gate of hooded men; as is announced by the first voice that greets the poor when they repair to it. "The porter," says the rule of St. Benedict, "is to be a wise old man, who knows how to receive and give an answer to the poor, with all the meekness and gentleness of the fear of God, and who will hasten to open to them with the fervour of charity *." Within, the poor man is the lord and master. In the monastery of Valuanera in Spain is a vast kitchen, always ready for strangers, travellers, and pilgrims, as also for the poor and the family of the house; therefore called, culina sancta—the holy kitchen. The fire there, if any where, is perpetual, flaming brightly night and day. In this vast hearth piles, whole cart-loads, of timber are daily consumed, and yet no more ashes are found than sufficient to cover a single coal. In the same monastery are many other hearths on which timber from the same woods is burned, where ashes accumulate as elsewhere; but from the holy kitchen no one could collect a plate-full. If with these ashes you rub any vessel or candlestick, you find the metal corroded. If you employ it in washing, the linen will be spotted and stained. The monks and lay-brethren are all unanimous in attesting the fact. Queen Isabella made a journey to visit this kitchen. She stayed a long time to watch the fire, and there were no more ashes when she left than when she entered it. People from all parts come to see it. Logronnio, Najara, San Domingo, all Rioja, Castille, and Navarre, send constant visitors, who return convinced of the reality †. Whatever inference persons now may choose to draw from such narrations, one thing at all events is certain, that the monks' kitchen was the kitchen of the poor, and that a benediction must have rested on it. If the form seems playful, how many signs around you that nature has her merriment? But every where the presence of the monk was fraught with childlike mirthful kindness for the indigent. "William, abbot of Hirchau," says an old author, "was most admirable in his affection for the poor. It happened one day, at the beginning of the spring, when the serenity and sweetness of the air invited the fathers to enjoy the delightful season in the fields, that William and the monks proceeded forth, provided with bread and other provisions, to make a frugal

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* Cap. 66.

† Ant. de Yepes, Chronic. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. tom. 294.

dinner on the ground; but before they came to the spot they met a distressed family craving alms. Though the basket contained a slender allowance, William invited the poor man and his wife, and their eleven children, to sit down with them to dinner. Many other poor people came up, and he gave to all; but the first poor family was retained and hospitably provided for till the next harvest*." In 966, Burcardus, prince of Linzgovia, abbot of St. Gall, was styled father of the poor; he never seemed so pleased with any thing as when he could recreate the poor. Though so high a prince and nephew of great emperors, he was not ashamed to return home often bare foot and half naked, having given what he had worn to the poor†. Peter the Venerable, writing to St. Bernard, says, "I laid up your letter with the gold and silver, which, according to the custom delivered to me by my fathers, I carry about with me for the purpose of charity." If, as we have seen, the purse was carried for this object by persons in the world, it could not have been otherwise with him. One day St. Stephen of Grandmont, having conversed long with certain nobles who came to his monastery, towards evening some poor people arriving, he ordered them to be hospitably received, and prepared to go to them, replying to some who advised him to retire, that, "after devoting the day to the world, he wished to converse during the night with God‡." The least neglect of the poor was considered by the monks as a neglect of God and a neglect of his saints. "There came," says Jocelin, in his chronicles of St. Edmondsbury, "a certain man of great account to the abbey, who related to the abbot a vision he had seen, whereat he himself was much moved; and indeed he related the same in full chapter, after a very bitter preface. 'It is indeed true,' he said, 'that a certain great man hath seen a vision, to wit, that he saw the holy martyr St. Edmund lie outside his shrine, and with groans to say that he was despoiled of his clothes, and was wasted away by hunger and thirst; and that his churchyard and the courts of his church were negligently kept.' And this dream the abbot expounded to us all publicly, laying the blame upon our side, in this wise: 'St. Edmund alleges that he is naked, because ye defraud the naked poor of your old clothes, and likewise that you give with reluctance what ye are bound to give them of your meat and drink.'" Charity to the poor in every form was exercised in the cloister, and drawn to the cloister to be thence distributed to its proper objects. On the festival of the Annunciation at Rome, after solemn mass in the church of the Dominicans called the Minerva, in presence

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* Raderus, Bavaria Sancta, iv. 55.

† Bucelinus, Chronolog. Constant.

‡ F. Levesque, Annales Ordinis Grandimontis, Cent. i.

of the pope and before the confraternity of the Rosary, all the brothers and sisters carrying lighted tapers, at the procession the friars bestow a dower of eighty scudi on many poor maidens, sometimes to the number of two hundred if they wish to marry, or of one hundred scudi if they choose the cloister, which foundation was made by the Cardinal Turrecremata, who was a preaching friar *. As collectors and dispensers of alms for the poor, the monks stand equally pre-eminent. The illustrious convent of the Trinity at Toledo is thus especially commemorated as having, besides producing many most learned men, promoted charity to the poor among all the inhabitants of that city by means of their example, and the confraternities, as that of the Ave Maria, which it established †. Marina d'Escobar, without the resources of a religious community, but living as a holy recluse by the alms of the faithful, was enabled, in consequence of the charity of persons who confided in her distribution, to give a dower to eighteen poor persons who wished to become nuns, and to four others to enable them to marry; besides founding in several monasteries a perpetual lamp before the holy sacrament, that focus whence the streams of pity ever issue to refresh and relieve the suffering members of Christ ‡.

The hooded men passing on, thus dispensing charity on all sides, secular priests walk next in tenderness for the poor resembling them. It was expressly ordained in the time of Charlemagne, that the poor who inhabit the place of a benefice should be nourished by the holder of the benefice, and not suffered to beg §. The Catholic holder seldom requires compulsion in regard to that duty. Cæsar of Heisterbach gives instances; let us observe them. "Everard, the holy parish priest of the church of St. James at Cologne, fell sick, and was afflicted with such a violent pain in the head that he could hardly endure it. Unable to pray or read, he sent for a certain skilful physician, and asked him, for Christ's sake, to give him counsel as to what should be done. He, seeking money more than a divine reward, answered, 'If you will give me three marks, I will cure you.' To whom the holy man said, 'I have not three marks in the world, but I will give you half of that sum;' when the physician said he would not labour for so small a remuneration. Then the other said, 'If I had three marks, I would rather give them to the poor than to you, and commit my infirmity to God.' By a just judgment, from that hour the holy man recovered, and the impious physician fell sick of the very same disease which he

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* Leon. Fossæi Grani-Aquens. De Rosario, lib. i. c. 5.

† Annales Ord. S. Trin. 69.

‡ Vit. Ven. Virg. Marin. p. ii. lib. iii. c. 9.

§ Nisard, Vie de C. 263.

had refused to remove from the saint. This miracle was lately related, in my hearing, to a certain canon of St. Severin by a physician named Rudolph, who had been invited by him on the festival of that confessor. This holy man, Everard, the parish priest of St. James, used always to invite some of the poor to dine with him. One day two were introduced, of whom one was infirm and of so disagreeable an appearance that the other refused to eat by his side. There was a little table prepared for them opposite to the priest. The man of God, compassionating the poor despised man, and honouring Christ in his person, ordered a seat to be placed for him at his own table, so that they should both eat and drink from the same dish and goblet. It is said, that he used to have delicate food prepared expressly for his poor guests, and that he used to regale himself with the smell, in order to mortify his appetite the more by not partaking of it himself; for, as soon as the dish was ready, he would say to his boy, 'Go, take it to such a widow, or to such a poor person, for they want it more than I do.' He had chests full of shoes, which he used to give to the poor who might want them. He had an especial love for our order, and when he wished to embrace it he was dissuaded by some of our abbots, as I understand, knowing that his life was most holy, and very necessary to secular persons [*]."

Florentius Radevinus, the director of Thomas à Kempis, used every year, on the festival of St. Gregory, to invite to his table twelve poor scholars, in honour of the blessed Pope, who had that number of poor men daily at his dinner. "I used often," says Thomas à Kempis, "to introduce to him, at the hour of his dinner, the poor people whom he designated by name, who, after meat and drink, used to return joyfully to the schools, praising God [†]." Thus, while churches collectively, like that of Toledo, were daily distributing immense alms, sending also bread and other provisions to poor persons who were ashamed to beg, as Marineus Siculus relates [‡], each individual priest who served in them was acting towards the poor as if all their interests depended on his own personal devotion to them. The stranger wishes that he might have pointed out by name, without offending their humility, living instances from amongst the Catholic priests of these three kingdoms; but those who will never see these pages may be named. Haffringue of Boulogne, and his holy brother the curate of Oudinghen, whose white cliffs push their promontory to the nearest point which connects us with the Continent; Migeon of St. Germain; Portalis of the Bonnes-Nouvelles; Anicle of St. Severin; De La Tour of

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[*] Lib. iv. c. 98.

[†] Magnum Spec. 97-8.

[‡] De Reb. Hispan. lib. ii.

St. Thomas of Aquin; Petitot of St. Louis d'Antin; Desgenettes of our Lady of Victory—how sweet to his lips are such dear familiar names, while commemorating the sacerdotal charity of the present day! But to return to examples from the past, which become present from so many exact, though unconscious, living imitators. "Enffrid, of the diocese of Cologne," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "was a simple and just man, greatly given to works of mercy. What his life was before he was a priest, and when he was a youth, I know not; but that mercy grew up with him I collect from his actions. I have heard, however, that he was so clever when a boy, and diligent in learning, that he used to instruct other boys, and, what is still more, form them to virtue. On being ordained priest he was appointed to govern the parish of Sygeberg. No pilgrim then remained outside his house. His door opened to every wayfarer. He was the father of widows, the consoler of orphans, the reformer of sinners. In his house many scholars were nourished, and such was his simplicity, that when the cherry season came, he said to his cellerarius, 'Good son, give leave to the boys to mount the trees and eat as many cherries as they please; and you need give them no other food, for with no other sort are they so delighted,' which he said not from tenacity, but from the simplicity of his nature. So, leave having been given, after some days the cellerarius said to him, 'Certainly, my lord, unless the boys take some other food besides cherries, they will become faint,' and then he acquiesced immediately. After this he was made canon in the church of St. Andrew, at Cologne, and then dean. In the neighbouring parish of St. Paul there was no poor widow whom he did not visit with alms and food. So much bread and money used to be given to mendicants at his door, that many, who knew what were his annual returns, wondered. His cellerarius, named Frederic, was his nephew, and he used often to argue with his uncle on his indiscreet liberality, while the other, on the contrary, would reprove him for his being too parsimonious, for their expenses were in common, and therefore Frederic was angry that the dean should give secretly to the poor whatever he could lay his hands on. One time Frederic having killed many great swine, and made them into hams, which were suspended in the kitchen, the dean, looking at them with envious eyes, but fearing to take any of them, devised a sort of holy theft; for, whenever he found there was no-one in the kitchen, he used to steal in, mount the ladder, and cut away the half of a ham that was next to the wall, leaving the other whole, and then he used to give it to poor persons. At length the theft being discovered, and the thief also, when Frederic complained that he had lost the revenue of a whole year, the dean replied, 'Dear relation, is it not better you

should suffer some loss than that the poor should die? The Lord will restore it to you.' Another time, going to St. Gereo to the feast of that martyr, and a poor man crying after him, he having nothing to give sent his attendant scholar on before him, and retiring into a corner took off part of his clothes, which he gave him. Indeed many said, laughing, that he did more than St. Martin on this occasion; and in truth it was the general opinion, that no one could exceed him in compassion for the poor. Always he had in his heart our Saviour's words—' Date, et dabitur vobis.' The venerable parish priest of St. James, Everhard, had one heart and soul with him in the Lord. No one could describe the charity with which he used to receive to hospitality all monks of every order. On one occasion of a solemnity, when the Lord Adolphus, dean of the greater church, and afterwards archbishop of Cologne, invited him to a banquet, he declined, saying that he had to receive certain illustrious guests. Having said mass, as he hastened home, Godefrid, his fellow-canon, and the dean's notary, told me, that as he looked out of the window he saw many poor following him, lame, and blind, and deaf, and when they could not pass the stones which divide the different plots, he used to give his hand to each to assist them over. Then the clerk, calling his lord to the window, said, ' Behold, my lord, these are the great guests whom the dean was expecting.' I remember myself, on the anniversary of Lord Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, the conventual churches all flowing to the church of St. Panthaleon, which Bruno had built, after mass was said for his soul, the priors, according to custom, entering the refectory to dinner, that I saw, I know not how many poor people, following Euffrid to the door of the refectory, and when the refectorius was about to admit him, and exclude the poor, he cried out, ' I will not enter this day without them.' The prudent man knew that these poor were the friends of God, and the chamberlains of heaven. Another time, when he was placed before the relics to admonish those entering to give alms for buildings of the church of which he was guardian, he spoke thus:—' Good people, you see what great buildings are here, and you do well to give alms for them, but you would do better still to give them to the poor.' While he was preaching thus, our monk, Frederic, entered with some soldiers, who heard the words, and afterwards related them to me. He used to take care to nourish persons who feared God, that he might be partaker of their merits; and thus he supported, as long as he lived, that venerable recluse, the Lady Heyleka, holy as her name denotes, whose cell was next the monastery of St. Andrew. He used to call the poor his celestial treasures; and when he used to find poor boys with hands sadly neglected, and full of sores, he used to make them sit at his table and eat from his own

plate. There was a citizen of Cologne, named Lambert, intimate with him as a neighbour. He was one day dining with Godefrid the notary, and talking about the alms of Entfrid; he said, in my hearing, ‘I will tell you how he treated me. One day he invited me and my wife to supper; and, as we sat at table with him, we waited for a long time expecting some dish to be placed on it, as we had only bread; but, as I well knew his customs, at length I called one of the boys, and said in his ear, ‘Say, my good fellow, are we to have any thing to eat?’ ‘We have nothing,’ said he; ‘we had provided enough, but before supper-time my lord entering the kitchen, in spite of all we could say, gave what we had provided to the poor.’ Then, laughing, I sent the boy to my own house, and told him to bring us back sufficient dressed meat for us all. Another day, as I entered his kitchen, and saw several geese turning before the fire, I said in my heart, Truly the dean provides well for his household; but, when the geese were roasted, the dean came in, and, having cut them into portions, he sent them on different dishes to poor widows and others. Geese and poultry used often to be sent to him, because many venerated him, knowing his charity and piety, and he used to give all away in this manner. Indeed he was of such compassion, that sometimes he seemed, according to human judgment, to do what was less right, as when, hearing of some money stolen by a wife from a husband, he asked leave from the latter to clean his sewer, into which he knew she had thrown it, and, obtaining leave, gave it to the poor. Charity might excuse him, for we know that priests are accustomed to give leave to women to take from avaricious, merciless husbands, in order to give to the poor. In his old age, when he knew by the decay of his strength that his death was near, lest any earthly possession should overload him on the way to his country, he sold his house, and gave the price, not to his relatives, but to the poor; and when his fellow-canon, by name Conrad, who had bought the house, went to him, saying, ‘My lord, I wish to have my house,’ he answered, ‘Good Conrad, I am a weak old man, I shall soon die. Wait a little, and you will have it.’ ‘Where do you wish I should remain in the interim?’ That good man, making a virtue of necessity, waited with sufficient patience for his death. When, sitting in the porch of the church, he used to see poor people pass carrying a load of moss, which they had gathered in the woods, the blessed man used to buy the whole, not that he wanted it, but that he might deliver them from the labour. His love of justice was no less great; and so strict was he in every observance, that he would never, to the day of his death, omit the divine office. Celebrating mass in the convent, he used to be often supported in the arms of others, lest he should fall; and he

was of such humility, that, when the chief of all in dignity and age, excepting on the principal solemnities, he used always to take the last place in the choir. His dress was poor and coarse, composed indeed of sheep skin. The Lord recalled him to glory on the vigil of our Lord's Resurrection. While they were waiting for him to come to the solemn office, as he was Hebdomedarian, he suddenly lost his strength. Reinerus was then called, who, feeling his pulse, judged that death was imminent; and sacred unction was administered. He rejected medicine, saying that he would say mass in the convent; but, they telling him that he could never say it again, he suffered himself to be anointed, and, after joining with the brethren in singing the Psalms and Litany, he rendered up his spirit to Christ about the hour of nones. When he was buried, the day after Easter, the Lord Everhard said, in the hearing of many, 'This day is committed to earth the most holy flesh that has lived on earth *.'"

Thus do simple priests fulfil that duty which is imposed on them in so peculiar a manner, as when, in the Roman Order of the Synod, the pontiff addresses them in these words, "Curam pauperum, peregrinorum, viduarum, et orphanorum habete; ipsosque peregrinos ad prandium vestrum vocate. Estote hospitales, aliis exinde bonum exemplum præbentes †." But now, as this solemn train draws near its close, the mitred pontiffs deserve that every eye should watch them, to reap immortal lessons from their examples of charity to the poor. In the office of their consecration, the questions and ceremonial are significative of what is expected from them in this regard. "Vis pauperibus et peregrinis omnibusque indigentibus esse propter nomen Domini affabilis et misericors?" is the question of the consecrating prelate; to whom the bishop elect answers, "Volo ‡." In the second council of Reims, all the bishops decreed that rooms for poor travellers should be prepared in every bishop's house, as in monasteries, and that bishops, wherever they might be, should have the poor at their own table; so that in the ninth century it pleased all the French bishops to do what many, who do not personally know their present successors, might now suppose can be practised only by saints canonized. But let us observe examples which can be found from the first ages of Christianity uninterruptedly to the present day.

"A church has been lately constructed at Lyons," says Sidonius, "by the diligence of the holy prelate Patiens, who by his generous munificence, and humanity to the poor, has raised the edifice, not less lofty, of a good conscience §." Writing to that

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* vi. c. 5.

† Rom. Pont. Ordo ad Synodum.

‡ Pont. Rom. de Consec. Elect. in Epist.

§ Sid. Apoll. lib. ii. epist. 10.

great bishop, he speaks of his pious generosity in alms distributed through the ravaged and depopulated provinces of Gaul. "Transit," he says, "in alienas provincias vigilantia tua, et in hoc curæ tuæ latitudo diffunditur, ut longè positorum consoletur angustias. This know," he concludes, "that your name resounds through all Aquitaine. You are loved; you are praised; you are desired; you are enshrined in the hearts of all *." Theodoret, bishop of Cyr, says, in one of his letters, "You know that we have employed a great part of the ecclesiastical revenues in making porticoes, baths, bridges, and other edifices of public utility, in all which we attended to the advantage more of the poor than of the rich †." St. Germain of Auxerre, proposing to strike off the road to Ravenna, whither he was bound, in order to visit the castle of a seigneur whose family was sick, his deacon objected, to whom he replied, "The road which leads to eternal life is every where the shortest and the most direct." To assist the poor was, and is, the straightest way in the judgment of the Catholic Episcopacy. During one journey, St. Peter, second archbishop of Tarentaise, gave in alms 3684 francs. When received to hospitality in the houses of the rich, he used to take away part of his dinner to give it to the poor on the road, saying, on one occasion, "It is right that we should not be the sole persons to derive benefit from the charity of a Christian family." In his see he founded a daily dinner of soup and bread for every one who applied during the months which precede the harvest. At this both rich and poor assisted; the former giving with one hand what he received in the other. This usage was continued uninterruptedly by his successors. In 1612, it was proposed to exclude the rich; but the senate of Savoy determined otherwise by a remarkable decree ‡. Desideratus, bishop of Verdun, after many persecutions, returning to his diocese, and finding the inhabitants very poor and destitute, grieved for them, and, having no means to console them, sent a messenger to king Theodoric, praying him to give him money to enable him to assist his people; for, said he, "the fame of your goodness is spread widely, and you give even to them who do not ask; and we promise to pay you with interest when we have the means." Then the king sent him 7000 pieces of gold, which the bishop distributed. After a time, when the bishop came to the king, and offered to pay back the money, he answered, "I do not want it back; all I want is that the poor should be relieved by your suggestion and by my alms;" and so he dismissed him §. St. Thierri, bishop of Orleans,

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* Id. lib. vi. Ep. 12.

† Ep. 79.

‡ Chevray Vie de S. P. T.

§ S. Greg. Turinens. Hist. lib. iii. 34.

of the house of Tonnere, is another of the great prelates who evinced the grandeur of the primitive type in all its majesty. "He had a great regard for the poor," says an old writer, "and repressed the powerful who sought to oppress the weak. He only studied the interests of the public *."

"In 935, St. Conrad, bishop of Constance, gave a remarkable proof of his charity; for, besides all the churches and convents he had erected and endowed, he built an hospice for the poor; and so anxious was he to provide this for them, that he worked at the building with his own hands, carrying the stones and mortar to the masons,—ut quanti pauperes Christi faceret, cœlo non minus quam terris comprobaret †." "Blessed Reginbald, in the same see, in 1038, a great pontiff and count of Kyburg, whose presents to the cathedral of Spires were till lately preserved, was so great a lover of the poor, that he always acted with them more promptly than with princes and palatines ‡." In 1243, during a scarcity, Nicolas Myrensis, bishop of Constance, fed daily three thousand poor, to the astonishment of his ministers, who could not understand how he possessed the means of such liberality. Pater Pauperum was his name. England was not left without such potent prelates in times past. Hugo, the Carthusian bishop of Lincoln, used to embrace the lepers in their hospital. William, the chancellor of that cathedral, wishing to try whether vanity moved him, said on one of these occasions, "Ah! Martin cured a leper in embracing him; you cannot cure them so." "The kiss of Martin," replied the holy bishop, "cured the flesh of a leper; but the kiss of a leper has cured my soul §." But let us hear Stowe lamenting that he lives in a declining time of charity, without daring to declare openly the cause. "Whereof," he says, "somewhat to note for example. Venerable Bede writeth, that prelates of his time having peradventure but wooden churches, had notwithstanding on their board at their meals one alms dish, into the which was carved some good portion of meat out of every other dish brought to their table; all which was given to the poor, besides the fragments left, in so much as in a hard time, a poor prelate wanting victuals, hath caused his alms dish, being silver, to be divided among the poor, therewith to shift as they could, till God should send them better store.

"Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 1293, besides the daily fragments of his house, gave every Friday and Sunday, unto every beggar that came to his gate, a loaf of bread sufficient for that day, and there more usually,

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* Hist. de plus. Saints des Maisons de Tonnerre et de Clermont.

† Bucelinus, Chronolog. Constantiensis, 174. ‡ Id.

§ Mat. Paris, ad ann. 1200.

every such alms day, in time of dearth, to the number of five thousand, and otherwise four thousand, at the least; more, he used every great festival day to give one hundred and fifty pence to so many poor people, to send daily meat, bread, and drink, to such as by age or sickness were not able to fetch his alms, and to send meat, money, and apparel to such as he thought needed it.

"I read, in the reign of Edward III., that Richard de Berie, bishop of Durham, did weekly bestow for the relief of the poor eight quarters of wheat made into bread, besides his alms dish, fragments of his house, and great sums of money given to the poor when he journeyed. These alms dishes were as well used at the tables of noblemen, as of the prelates.

"Richard Redman, bishop of Ely, in the year 1500, in the reign of Henry VII., besides his great family house-keeping, keeping alms dish, and relief to the poor, wheresoever he was lodged, in his travelling, when at his coming or going to or from any town, the bells being rung, all the poor would come together, to whom he gave every one six-pence at the least."

In Spain the episcopal charities to the poor continued to our time, as long as means existed, on the same scale of primitive munificence. From the time of St. Ildephonso, archbishop of Toledo, it was the custom in the archiepiscopal palace of that city, that every day twenty poor men beggars, and ten women in rags, should sit down at table, a priest attending and presiding, which alms are called the Institution of St. Ildephonso *. Don Rodriguez Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, having given all his revenues to the poor during a year of famine, King Alphonso VIII. gave to him and to his successors the office of grand chancellor of Castille, and to the domains of his church twenty villages. The Prince Infant Don Sancho of Arragon, monk of the order of Mercy, and archbishop of Toledo, employed all his revenues to succour the poor of his whole diocese. He kept a register of three sorts of poor; the first consisting of persons whose estates were broken down by inconstancy of fortune, and who were ashamed to make known their distress; the second of the poor by condition; the third of the aged who could not work. Besides these he kept a list of prisoners, sick persons, and orphans †.

The Roman cardinals in every age, like Odeschalci in our own, set a glorious example of charity for the poor. It is found by his book of accounts that one member of the sacred college, Alexander Perettus, Cardinal Montalto, nephew to Pope Sixtus V.,

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* Ant. de Yepes, Chronic. Gen. Ord. S. Ben. tom. ii. 255.

† Hist. de l'Ordre de la Merci, 144.

did, by his sister, bestow upon the poor a million and seven hundred thousand gold crowns, besides the alms that he distributed to single persons with his own hands. Hosius, whose love of the poor dated from his childhood, seemed, when cardinal, to exceed all limits in his munificence to them. On one day he clothed, from head to foot, an hundred indigent persons, and gave large sums to more than three thousand others *. Cardinal Burghese furnished an apothecary's shop for the free supply of medicine to all the poor of his parish; and the scale of magnificence adopted may be collected from the yearly revenue of a similar institution by Cardinal Lodovisius, who allotted to it about nine hundred pounds sterling a year †. The Cardinal Paulus Emilius Sfondrati, brother of Gregory XIV., would suffer no vessels but earthenware on his table, in order that he might nourish a greater number of poor. "The two objects," says Dom Guéranger, "which concentrated all the preoccupations of his generous soul, were the glorification of Christ in his triumphant members, and the consolation of Christ in his afflicted members ‡." But we must not seek to distinguish more individuals from throng so multitudinous. We might single out that bishop of Marseille, John Baptist Gault, who sold his plate and his horses to supply the wants of the poor; who has imitatators at the present day in every Catholic country. We might speak of St. Charles Borromeo, who, in a year of scarcity, nourished daily more than three thousand poor; who, on the visitation of the plague, sent four hundred who were incapable of rendering any service to a distance of five leagues from Milan, to a castle called Victoria, built by Francis I., on the road of Marignan, where he supplied them with all necessaries, and where they lived with such holy order that one might have taken them for a religious community. But such details are infinite.

We may pause however an instant, after observing those already cited, to hear instances of the love and reverence with which the memory of such prelates was cherished by the poor. At the funeral of St. Thomas of Villanova, who, when dying, gave even the bed on which he lay to a poor domestic, eight thousand five hundred poor walked weeping §. Well may the sacred vaults of Toledo re-echo with the hymns commemorating the charity of such men, as when on the feast of St. Ildefonso they hear—

"O felix pietas! O decus inclytum!"

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* Theiner, La Suède et le Sr. Siége, ii. 39.

† Pietas Romana.

‡ Hist. de S. Cécile.

§ Crusenius, Monasticon Augustinianum, p. iii. c. 39.

and on that of St. Julian, bishop and martyr,—

"Pauperum Pater vocatus,
Redditus Ecclesiæ,
Erogabat affluenter,
In necessitatibus,

Ut sibi deesset ante
Cuilibet quam subdito.
Juliane, magna nostræ
Nationis gloria,

Adjuva tuos Iberos
Faustitate plurima,
Floreant, Deumque laudent
Corde, voce, sensibus."

In fine, the tombs of the Catholic prelates attest how faithfully and devotedly they ministered to the poor. The epitaph on Lanfranc, who now lies under a nameless stone, written by Phillip, abbot of Goodhope, contained these lines, which perhaps the intruded ministers had good reason to efface:—

"Vixisti, venerande pater, sapienter et æque;
Vixisti vivens; mors quoque vita tibi.
Inter divitias pauper Lanfrance fuisti,
Divitiis manans, pauperum amator eras."

Upon the tomb of Chronopius, bishop of Perrigueux, the details are more explicit:—

"Esuriens epulum, sitiens te sumere potum,
Cernere te meruit tristis et exul opem.
Implesti propriis viduatam civibus urbem,
Videruntque suos te redimente lares*."

But now at length appear the Roman pontiffs, beyond whom we can follow the lustrous way of alms no further. From this glorious company, only as chance may direct the eye, can we distinguish some while passing. Pope Pelagius, for instance, may be noted; for he writes to Sapaude, archbishop of Arles, to request that he will purchase for him, with certain revenues belonging to the holy see, a quantity of clothes for the poor, such as white tunics, cloth coats, and hoods with sleeves, or jackets without sleeves, and other garments, such as are had in Provence, all which are to be sent by sea to Rome †. Pope St. Gregory the Great, of course, can escape no one's admiring attention. In a letter to Peter, subdeacon in Sicily, he says, "On

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* Père Dupuy l'Estat. de l'Eglise du Périgord, iii.

† Pelag. Epist. 8.

receiving this epistle, we desire you to deliver to the Lady Pateriquie forty crowns for children's shoes, and four hundred bushels of corn; to the Lady Palatine, widow of Urbique, twenty crowns and three hundred bushels of corn; to the Lady Vivienne, widow of Felix, twenty crowns and three hundred bushels of corn, which sum I will allow in your account[*]." In another letter to the same Peter, he says, "In consequence of the poverty of the son of the late Gotestalde, who was a very good man, we have judged it necessary, and we desire you to give him yearly, twenty-four bushels of corn, twelve bushels of beans, and twenty measures of wine[†]." To Anthemus, a subdeacon, he writes as follows: "Palatine, the illustrious lady, informs us of her deplorable state from the ravages of war, which obliges us to charge you to give her, without delay, thirty crowns, and to repeat the gift every year." He orders the same person to give annually twenty-three bushels of corn and eleven bushels of beans to a certain shepherd who, having nearly lost his sight, has to support his wife and two slaves[‡]. He exhorts some Italian bishops to assist Armenus, a young noble orphan reduced to indigence[§]. He orders Peter, the subdeacon in Campagna, to ransom from servitude a poor girl who desired to embrace a religious life; "a work," he adds, "which popes and bishops have always favoured[||]." He orders Cyprien, the deacon, to pay the debts of Cosmo, whose children are said to be kept in prison by his creditors, a case which, if true, moves him to the utmost compassion[¶]; and at the same time, for the sake of peace, he abandons the claims of the Church on a patrician lady named Italica, with a saving right of his successors to the goods of the poor; and he ends, saying, "I pray the Almighty, who rules as he wills the things of this world, and renders possible what seems impossible, to inspire you with a wish to terminate your disputes with a love of peace, and to bestow of your goods somewhat on the poor of this church for the profit of your soul[**]." He writes to Candidus, ordering him to give yearly a certain sum to a blind man, named Albin, son of a labourer, and to Gaudentius, bishop of Nola, to restore ten crowns to Rusticus, archdeacon of Capua, which the bishop Festus had taken from him[††]. He writes to Secondin, a recluse and hermit, saying, "Endeavour to awaken by your words, Marinian, your bishop of Ravenna, who, I suspect, is asleep; for having questioned some poor beggars who came to me, I learned all that has happened to them on their road, and from whom they

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[*] Lib. i. Ep. 37.

[†] i. 43.

[‡] i. 57. 65.

[§] ii. 28.

[||] ii. 39.

[¶] iii. 43.

[**] iv. 55.

[††] iii. 28 vii. 38. iv. 26.

received most alms; and having asked them what my brother, the bishop, had given them, they told me he had given nothing, not even bread, though the church of Ravenna is accustomed to give to all its poor inhabitants. They say he replied, 'I have nothing that I can give you,' which astonishes me. Tell him, then, that now that he is become a bishop, he must assume the spirit of a bishop; and that he must not think it enough to apply to study and prayer if he be not charitable *." He sends to Peter, bishop of Corsica, fifty crowns to purchase clothes for some pagans whom he had converted †. The first day of every month he used to give to all poor, in common, large alms of whatever he received from the revenues of the Church, in corn or wine, cheese or fowl, fish or oil. Every day of the week he sent soup and cooked meat to all sick persons; and a dish from his own table every day to poor shame-faced people ‡. Alexander V. cannot pass by unheeded. He gave such alms that he used to say, "I was a rich bishop, a poor cardinal, and I am a mendicant pope." Innocent III. among the brightest shines, too, preeminent; every day, towards the end of his dinner, poor children and vulgar lads had permission to present themselves at his table, in order to receive whatever was left. The light of Pope St. Pius V. rises later in this firmament. He had appointed certain days of audience, especially reserved for the poor, whom he used to receive with an open countenance; whose complaints he used to hear with benignity, and whose wants to alleviate by most generous munificence.

We stand here riveted. But the procession passes; and for us now to remain longer upon this great road of the poor would be disproportionate delay. No one, it might be thought, could mistake the signal furnished thus by the doctrine and practice of almsgiving; and by a consideration of the benefits which must continue for ever to flow to the poor, and consequently to society at large, from the action of the Catholic religion, though present evils may at times, and in some places, impede or interrupt it. Præ fulgore in conspectu ejus nubes transierunt §. "The clouds," says Bardo, archbishop of Mentz in the tenth century, "are the saints:—they pass. How many bright clouds! but they pass away. You know the sun; you know its rays; you know the clouds; the clouds which are at a distance opposite to the sun's rays shine as long as they are thus before the sun; and as they approach nearer, so much the more brightly do they shine; but if the sun and the clouds come to be in the very same place, so that where the sun is above, there the clouds are below, they are neither called clouds, nor are they so in fact; but all the bright-

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* Lib. v. 29.

† Lib. vii. 2.

‡ Joan. Diac. ii. 26.

§ Ps. xvii. 13.

ness is ascribed to the sun. What shall we call this, my brethren, but in some sort a type of the kingdom of heaven? What do the clouds, so called from nubilo, that is, from obscurity, represent, but the human race beclouded with the night of sin? What does the splendour of the sun represent, but the light of the divine brightness? What are the rays, but the illuminating works of Christ? The clouds then, in their own nature obscure, shine when breathed on by the rays of the sun; because human littleness shines when illuminated by the works of Christ. The nearer it approaches to the true sun, so much the brighter will it be; and powers which it had not by its own nature it receives by the illumination of Christ the true sun; but if it shall attain to that same point of divine operation, which is perfectly to give up the world, and with sedulous contemplation to look only to the divine will, and with the Apostle to say, but our conversation is in heaven, then it partakes in the name of Deity, so that it ought to be called not man, but even God. Whence our Lord in the Gospel, when He had prayed for his disciples, said, not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in Me; that they all may be one as their Father in Me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. Not only that they may be called one in us, which is great, but that they may be one in us, which is greatest. That they may be, he says, one in us, that is, that these clouds following me, the sun, may, in my brightness, lose the nature of clouds, and be as suns *." Such, in fine, is the bright track of charity, leading, through the effulgence of divine operations, to the Catholic Church, in which, when triumphant, it gloriously disappears.

It remains for us, however, to follow, for a few moments longer, the avenue through which the Catholic Church is visible, in observing the influence of faith upon the poor themselves as the objects of compassion:—

> "Through tatter'd clothes small vices do appear;
> Robes and furr'd gowns hide all."

We have already observed the poor in the train of blessed almoners, dispensing what relief they could to those still more destitute; and here we must attend to the general character imparted to them by the Catholic faith. It is easy now to stigmatize the poor, and to assume even a tone of superior prudence, by representing their moral condition as quite desperate; but it was not always permitted to pronounce so hastily upon their faults, without proclaiming one's self profane. A friar of St. Francis, having said in his presence that a certain poor man whom they met was not poor in spirit, the blessed father com-

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* Mab. Act. SS. Ord. Bened. Soc. vi. p. ii. p. 14.

manded him to cast himself at the feet of the beggar, confessing what he had said of him, and beseeching him to pray for him *. "These poor people, simple and ignorant as they are," says Friar Weston, addressing his brethren of the Franciscan order, "are, nevertheless, our teachers, doctors, and masters; and therefore it is just, for a memorial of our gratitude, we leave them what we have, at our departure out of the world. For it is from them we learn the true practice of the two prime virtues of our evangelical rule, namely, poverty and humility. See how these poor creatures manage themselves; how penurious and frugal they are in meat, drink, lodging, clothes, utensils; with how little they pass their lives, and with how much patience and cheerfulness they endure hunger, thirst, nakedness, heat, cold, rain, wind, and other injuries of the seasons. Observe, again, how humble they are, how free from vain-glory, pride, and ambition; how ready to execute the most difficult commands of great ones, and to undertake the vilest offices and drudgeries among mankind. And, though they see themselves perpetually excluded from all public employs of the commonwealth, they are no whit concerned, but bear their abject state with admirable patience, esteeming themselves unworthy of all preferments, honour, and respect. These considerations raise in all generous breasts noble thoughts and affections of tenderness and compassion towards the poor, and have moved our brethren, not only to leave them all they had at their entrance into religion, but likewise afterwards to become orators for them, to relieve their necessities as much as their state would allow, to assist them in their maladies, to comfort them in their afflictions, and wipe away their tears; and, when nothing but words were in their power, they failed not to sweeten with their discourse and charitable entertainments the bitterness of their necessitous lives †."

There is a melancholy impression caused by such pictures of the virtues of the Catholic poor in times past, and still present where faith reigns, when we consider the effects of the modern civilization upon other poor. In the old testimonies there is no exaggeration; for, in point of fact, the divine action of Catholicity often extended to establish the kingdom of God within the beggar's breast. "Prends, le voilà," says Don Juan, in the festin de Pierre, showing a louis-d'or to a beggar whom he meets in a wood, after insisting that he must swear first, for the express purpose of committing sin. The other is silent. "Mais jure

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* Spec. Vitæ S. F. cap. 30.

† Friar J. B. Weston, Abstract of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, or the Rule of the Frier-Minors, Douay, 65.

done," cries the tempter. The poor man at length speaks: "Non, monsieur," he replies, "j'aime mieux mourir de faim." Molière studied from the life; his beggar resembled the mendicants of the time—those who, seated by the sides of dukes and duchesses, might have heard Bossuet preaching on the dignity of the Christian poor, while the effects of such instruction would verify what Buckingham disdained to credit, showing that, at times,

"A beggar's book outworths a noble's blood."

"Mendicity," says a French traveller, "with its ascetic countenances, and its unimaginable configuration of patches and of ragged drapery, is one of the picturesque glories of old Spain; and when I have spoken to these aged persons, often so noble in their sentiments, I could never depart without shaking hands, and giving the obol of Belisarius." Nor is it exaggeration to ascribe the same character to the poor in Catholic countries at the present day. What member of the conference of St. Vincent of Paul will not bring a similar testimony to the virtues of the indigent whom he has visited? The stranger could furnish many instances of piety, of charity, of resignation, of devoted love, in those who were assisted by it in Paris. Homer might have envied such episodes, and sung the patriarchal family that guarded, as an ancestral treasure, the ancient attestation of pontiffs and abbots, given to a progenitor in an age long past, to certify how he had devoutly made his pilgrimage to St. James of Compostello, and visited all the holy places in Jerusalem; or he might have described the sick, patient youth, whose only wish is to make his first communion and to die; whose prayer is heard; who has strength given to make it, even in the Church, and who shortly after yields up his pure soul; or he might have sung the aged widow throwing herself on her husband's dead body, and embracing the ghastly figure of him whom she had watched over as a nurse for many years, but all the time with what smiles from the patient! how little troublesome was he! "Rustics, accustomed to hardship and privation, receive," says Egron, "afflictions, and even sickness, without murmuring, and simply, almost cheerfully, as an accident of their condition. See the aged infirm woman seated in the sun at her cottage door, passing long hours alone, exchanging a few words now and then with the village children. Interrogate this poor creature thus isolated, abandoned. Never will a reproach or murmur escape her lips. She suffers patiently; she waits for the end of her days without complaining *:"—

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* Le Livre du Pauvre.

"Il neige, il neige, et là, devant l'église,
Une vieille prie à genoux.
Sous ses haillons où s'engouffre la bise,
C'est du pain qu'elle attend de nous.
Seule, à tâtons, au parvis Notre-Dame,
Elle vient hiver comme été.
Elle est aveugle, hélas ! la pauvre femme.
Ah ! faisons-lui la charité."

Her history is then briefly sketched, and the reverse of fortune described, which led her, once prosperous and rich, to seek her bread for twenty years, a poor blind beggar, thus. But the poet, the sophist of the nineteenth century, judges of her mind with thoughts unlike her own when he adds these lines, though beautiful :—

"Le froid redouble, ô douleur ! ô misère !
Tous ses membres sont engourdis.
Ses doigts ont peine à tenir le rosaire
Qui l'eût fait sourire jadis.
Sous tant de maux, si son cœur tendre encore
Peut se nourrir de piété ;
Pour qu'il ait foi dans le ciel qu'elle implore
Ah ! faisons-lui la charité."

Such uneasiness may be tranquillized. She will retain her faith in heaven whether the sentimental observer gives or refuses. Her beatitude is not at the mercy of his caprice, as impious often in its gifts as in its scorn.

One of the seniors, as we read in the lives of the Fathers, said, "We find no mention made of the virtues of Lazarus, save only this, that he never murmured against the rich man though he showed him no compassion, and therefore is he in Abraham's bosom." Oh, how surely may we believe that many of the Catholic poor, from the Parisian garrets, the cabins of Brittany and Ireland, and the London cellars, take their happy flight thither, laden with the inestimable treasure of blessed poverty, of patience invincible, of love strong as death! Protestantism may know not, may value not, this thesaurum beatificæ paupertatis, as old writers style it ; under the protestor's influence, "forsitan pauperes sunt et stulti," as the Abbot Joachim says, "quia nolunt paupertatem Christi sequi *." Then the poor beggar will rail upon the rich, and say, there is no sin but to be rich ; while the virtue of the rich seems to consist in saying there is no vice but beggary. To hear such poor may remind one of Ulysses, who, while asserting an untruth, exclaims,—

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* Abb. Joachim super Hierem. cap. 5.

Ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος, ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσι
Γίνεται, ὃς πενίῃ εἴκων ἀπατήλια βάζει *.

Ah, there, O ye rich! it is well, and necessary, perhaps, to free your doorways from the poor. You have official guards in abundance, and you may possibly require them all. But no conclusions can be drawn from observing the manners which endanger thus your dwellings with respect to the character of the poor whom Catholicity has formed. Its heroes, indeed, are often mendicants and cripples, but they are not those of Euripides—Telephus, Philoctetes, Bellerophon—talkative, babblers, hypocrites, saying in their defence—

————Δεῖ γάρ με
Εἶναι μὲν ὥσπερ εἰμὶ, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μή.

They are holy, and simple, and true; for the tatters on the children of the Catholic Church are above the rags of Thyestes. Accordingly, it is the mendicant poor who, in the primitive Church, are the confidants of martyrs; it is to them that is confided the secret hiding-place of pontiffs: "Leave Rome by the Appian Way," said St. Cæcilia to Valerian, "proceed to the third milestone; there you will find some poor who ask alms from the passers-by. These poor are the objects of my constant solicitude; and my secret is known to them. Give them my blessing, and say Cæcilia sends me to you, in order that you may lead me to the holy old man Urban, for whom I have a secret message †." But let us hear Cæsar of Heisterbach, in the middle ages, citing instances of the holiness of the poor: "A few years ago," he says, "died a man who had been blind from his birth, a simple man, whose name was Engilbert. On account of various gifts with which divine grace had illuminated his interior, he was known through diverse provinces, and by many and great persons of both sexes much venerated. In a simple hood and woollen tunic, barefooted, with a little boy to lead him, he visited many remote holy places, never eating flesh, nor sleeping in a bed, but only on straw. I have seen many of his good deeds, and he edified me and many others by his conversation and example. On one occasion, some thieves entering by night the house of a rich matron in which he lay, he seized a key, and made such a noise with it, striking right and left like a furious man, that he drove them out of the house. It happened afterwards, that the same men, moved, as I think, by his prayers, went to confession, and lived ever afterwards a religious life. And, because the Lord speaks with the simple, a spirit of prophecy was given to him, so that the loss of exterior light was compensated

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* xiv. 156.

† Acta S. Cæciliæ.

by the brightness of his interior eyes. One time, being invited by the Duchess of Saxony, the wife of Duke Henry, a very religious matron, he predicted to her, among other things, that one of her sons would be emperor. This we saw fulfilled afterwards, in Otho, who succeeded Henry in the empire. After his election, being in great tribulations, and almost despised of by all, he was comforted by the same blind man, who assured him that in every way what was preordained by God would be fulfilled *." Such poor persons are still found in Catholic countries. "The song of Paradise," says Hersart de la Villemarque, in his work on the Breton Popular Chants, "of which the air is as sweet and charming as the poetry, was sung to me for the first time by a poor beggar, seated at the foot of a cross on the road side. She could hardly restrain her emotion; but she wept as she sung it." An English traveller in Spain met a mendicant of the same class. "At Manzanares, a large village in La Mancha," he says, "as I stood in the market-place conversing with a curate, a ragged blind girl, about eighteen, dark as a mulatto, being accosted by me in Gitano, replied that she was no gypsy, and commenced asking me questions in very good Latin. She told me that she was born blind, and that a Jesuit priest had taken compassion on her when she was a child, and had taught her the holy language, in order that the attention and hearts of Christians might be more easily turned towards her: I soon discovered that he had taught her something more than Latin; for, upon telling her that I was an Englishman, she said, 'that she had always loved Britain, which was once the nursery of saints and sages, for example, Bede and Alcuin, Columbus and St. Thomas of Canterbury; but,' she added, 'those times had gone by, since the re-appearance of Elizabeth.' Her Latin was pure, and when I, like a Goth, spoke of Anglia and Terra Vandalica, for Andalousia, she corrected me by saying, that 'in her language these places were called Britannia, and Terra Betica.' When we had finished our discourse, a gathering was made for her, the very poorest contributed something." He adds, that "the people seemed pleased at her conversing with me, as if impressed with a conviction that she could easily confound a stranger, whom they suspected of an evil belief." He was wise in his generation to fear this beggar: the stranger knew a lady, whose loss of friends and riches dated from the hour when the answer of a mendicant in London streets awoke her from the dreams of heresy, to leave her faith for sole abundance. And in fact, if the Catholic poor, confronted with men of the new opinions, are pressed with maxims of the false philosophy, their brief reply has often everlasting consequences. It is, at all events, significative of their happy and most wise

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* vi. c. 10.

ignorance, for they are content with saying, "Sirs, you speak a language that I understand not." Against the modern errors respecting certain dispensations from the moral law, consequent upon extreme indigence, they are in general well armed, without having read Cicero. If asked his question, "Nonne sapiens, si fame ipse conficiatur, abstulerit cibum alteri, homini ad nullam rem utili?" while the patriot and the orator, and I know not who else besides, will answer in the affirmative, the Catholic poor man, who has least heard speak the educated classes, answers from the dictates of nature, in accordance with the Roman sage, "Minime vero. Non enim mihi est vita mea utilior, quam animi talis affectio, neminem ut violem commodi mei gratia *." While the maxims of some who would relieve his wretchedness are often far below the standard of the pagan morality, no one can doubt that he is Christian from the heart. His humble formulas of demand, his meek replies, his devout expressions of thanks to the chance almoner, can all awaken a train of Catholic thoughts, and direct men to investigate the source of such wide-extended and holy traditions. "Two beggars told me," says the tired wandering Imogen, seeking for Milford Haven, "that I could not miss my way;" and in the forest of life such poor folks can often direct lost travellers to the true harbour of refuge, where all find safety, and him who is their lover for eternity. Yes! still even in unblessed places they speak the language of our holy faith. As in the old mystery, when a charitable lady gives a sack of corn to a beggar at her gate, they reply—

"Dame, Dieu, qui voit et perçoit
Des cœurs le vouloir plainement,
Le vous rende au grant jugement
Qu'il doit tenir †!"

Catholic poetry has thus at times chosen for its theme the poor beggar. But, oh! how unlike is the character it represents to that which songsters of the modern views present us with, when they wish to describe him! the one devout, meek, charitable, resigned; the other godless, hating mankind, in stern defiance, and, even in death, proud of his isolation. "In this pit," says the Old Vagabond of the infidel poet, who in one exquisite picture pourtrays the philosophy and civilization of the age along with him,—

"Let us end in this pit where I have sunk,
Old, weak, and weary I die;
Those who pass will say that he is drunk,
So best; I hate their sigh.

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* De Offic. iii. 6.

† Miracle de Nostre Dame, comment elle garda une femme d'estre arsé.

I see some who turn away their faces ;
  Others throw me from afar some pence ;
Speed on to the fête—to the races,
  Without you I can pass hence.
To artisans, when young, I used to cry,
  Teach me some good trade, I pray—
Begone, we have not too much work, swear I,
  Begone, and beg your way.
Work, work, ye rich, who used to say,
  Some bones have you thrown to me, poor sot ;
'Tis true I have slept upon your hay,
  Old Vagabond, I curse you not.
The pauper has he a country ?
  What are your wines and corn to me ?
And your gold and your industry ?
  And your senate with its oratory ?
I might have stolen,—yes, poor wretch ;
  But no, better to hold out my hand, said I.
At most 'twas some apple from the ditch,
  That had ripened the high road by.
Yet twenty times have they imprisoned me,
  In the name of some new law,
To take all they were then sure to see ;
  But, Old Vagabond, the sun I saw.
As an insect, that can only injure men,
  O rich ! why not on me tread ?
Ah ! you should have rather taught me then
  How to earn my daily bread.
Saved from the blight that is not seen,
  'Twould be an ant, not a worm so ;
A brother dear you would have been ;
  But, as it is, I die your foe."

The poet who thus paints the mendicant unconsciously bears his tribute to the Catholic religion, which had removed all the social evils he deplores, changed indifference into charity, murmurs into songs of thanksgiving, and the scowling enemy of the rich into a brother already attached to them, with the love that was to endure in a just and happy world for the eternal years.

It is needless to recall here the different signals which we have now passed directing to Catholicity on the road of the poor. If men are inclined to pursue some circling path without heeding them, it is not by a recapitulation of them in the style of a rhetorician's epilogue that their feet can be retained upon the way of peace.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ROAD OF CAPTIVES.

THROUGH the forest of life, as in the natural wood, are some very ancient tracks, like those called after Brunehault in France, and the Romans in England, which seem to invite rather the antiquarian than the common traveller; being now, except here and there at a few places, quite impassable and overgrown with trees, or nearly buried beneath the soil which has been acumulating over them by the works and ruins of successive generations.

Leaving the road of the poor, and following a transverse alley in order to enter at once upon some one of the special ways of active life, at an oak which bears on its huge trunk an image of St. Leonard, we arrive at the intersection of one of these ancient causeways, now strewed with husks and formless ruin of oblivion, which present perhaps more an historical memorial than a positive advantage to the wayfarer; and yet, finding ourselves thus upon it here, we cannot make a better choice than to follow it for some distance. The ground over which it leads is still, like that we have just traversed, closely bordering on the region of practical life; and, after proceeding a few steps, we shall find that formerly no road of the world's wilderness commanded more glorious views of the benefits resulting from Catholicity. It still leads therefore in a straight direction to the Catholic Church those who follow it with eyes intent upon the past, and on the signals which once directed the multitudes that thronged it; and although the road of captives be no longer in much use, in consequence of the changed condition of the world, and the fallen state of the Pagan and Mahometan powers, which caused it for so many ages to be a beaten way of men engaged in voyages and commerce, there are still some parts where it is followed by a few, whose opportunities of beholding the truth of Catholicity must not be passed over in silence. Besides, its ancient fame cannot but arrest the steps of all who pass near the road of the poor, and invite them, however impatient, to trace it for some space before they leave this district of the intellectual forest, which seems more immediately to derive its whole character from the many ways of charity that traverse it, leading thereby all that pass along them to the Church of God.

In the first place, then, the horror alone excited by the

thought of captivity points to the Catholic Church, which always felt, and, as soon as was compatible with order and justice, which always evinced by deeds more eloquent than words the same impression. The Fathers of our Lady of Mercy commence the great history of their order by stating the paramount importance of its object, for the reason, that "slavery deprives man of liberty, which is the richest appanage that he has received from God in the order of nature." Have you led, or transmitted, or sold any one to captivity? is the question for confessors in the ninth century. If so, unless it was pro pace communi, you must do penance for three years *. In the Ordo Romanus, when the Rogation days are spoken of, the first rank among good works is ascribed to the gift of freedom; for which in fact the Church was always willing to make the greatest sacrifices, and to extend indulgence farthest. The bull of Nicholas III. granted deliverance from purgatorial pains to the souls of the parents and relations of those who, imitating the pontiffs, gave certain alms for the ransom of slaves †. The deliverance of men from slavery in pagan times had directed, no doubt, multitudes during that epoch to recognize the divine character of the Catholic Church, which was so constantly, though so cautiously and wisely, occupied in that work from the beginning. Pope St. Clement says, that he has known many Christians, who, to obtain freedom for other Christian captives, made themselves slaves in their place. It would be long to give even a summary of this glorious work, as carried on during the first ages. "No one," says Fortunatus, "could relate the number of captives for whom St. Germain, bishop of Paris, obtained freedom—Spaniards, Irish, Bretons, Gascons, Saxons, and Burgundians are witnesses. When the abbot St. Eparchius died in the year 579, the funeral was attended by two thousand of the poor captives whom he had ransomed with the alms given to him by pious persons ‡."

St. Philibert applied vast funds at Jumiège to the ransom of captives. Antonio de Ypes, in his history of the Benedictines, observes, that this work from the beginning formed one of the many objects to which that truly universal order directed its labours. The monks enfranchised their serfs every where, and that, too, without selling liberty to them. Those of Pontigny set the example in that part of France. If we, again, open the letters of St. Gregory the Great, we soon find traces of the zeal which always animated the holy see in performing this task. Thus a physician of the emperor, residing in Constanti-

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* Regino Abb. Prum, De Eccles. Discip. lib. i. 144.

† Hist. de l'Ordre de Notre Dame de la Mercy, 150.

‡ Ant. de Yepes, Chron. Gen. Ord. S. Bened. tom. i. 347.

nople, sends him money for the redeeming captives[*]. A princess named Theoliste sends him thirty golden livres for the same work[†]. It would require a volume to state the services in this respect of that one pontiff alone. Balmes shows admirably how well the Church deserved by redeeming captives and gradually abolishing slavery. Addressing Protestantism, he demands, "Where were you when the Catholic Church accomplished in Europe this immense enterprize? and how do you dare to accuse her of sympathizing with servitude, of degrading man, and usurping his rights? Can you present a single title which so merits for you the gratitude of the human race[‡]?" The fact is, that so late even as the last century, acts of parliament were passed in England expressly to encourage the slave-trade, while Johnson, so Catholic in mind and often in expression, stood at one time alone among Protestants in denouncing the infamy of such measures. Catholic statesmen in England, during the middle ages, legislated under a different banner. The parliament was then guided by the canons. The tenth canon of the Council of Celchit, held in 816, provided for the emancipation in a few years of all the slaves of the Church in England. The Council of Armagh in 1172 gave liberty to all the English who were slaves in Ireland; for the English at that time were so barbarous that they used to sell their own children to the Irish for slaves, like the Africans at the present day. This practice was the common vice of the nation. Hence the necessity for that council in London in 1102, which proscribed as infamous this odious traffic. The Council of Armagh, moved by the enormity of such a sin, delared that the purchasers were as criminal as the unnatural parents, and therefore, with the universal consent, pronounced all such slaves emancipated. Long before, in the sixth century, we find an ancient author relating, to the eternal praise of the pious queen Bathilde, that she prohibited reducing Christians to captivity, and proclaimed every where "ut nullus in regno Francorum captivum hominem transmitteret." Forty-five bishops at the Council of Châlons-sur-Saône, in the year 550, decreed, saying, it is the end of religion and the height of piety to ransom Christians from captivity. Therefore this holy council declares that no slave shall be taken beyond the frontiers of the kingdom of Clovis to be sold, lest, which Heaven forbid! any Christian should be involved in slavery[§]. The queen Bathilde ransomed many slaves of her

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[*] Lib. iv. ep. 40.

[†] Lib. vi. ep. 25.

[‡] Le. Prot. et Cath. Comp. c. xx.

[§] Ap. Dom. Pitra, Hist. de S. Léger, 136.

own nation, and many young Irish captives, whom she used to place in monasteries, desiring them to pray for her.

This road leads also near old feudal castles, and has signals pointing to the Church consisting in proofs of her having often by her pontiffs and monks, by her prayers and miracles, burst their dungeon doors, and set free the wretches who had been confined within them. As time presses, we can only notice two memorials of deliverance by the latter; and they are memorable, although the issue from them may not be thought so direct or so easily effected by all feet; for some contrive to entangle themselves, when others find a passage open to a mystic and glorious view of truth.

"At the time," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "when the Lord Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, built a castle in Furstinberg against the nobleman Gerrard de Brabach, a certain youth of his army, named Theodoric, wishing to make a reputation for himself, was taken before the same castle. There being long incarcerated, having promised to give money for his ransom, he was taken out of the prison and placed in an upper house, with chains on his limbs, and servants to guard him. He had iron rings round his feet, and manacles on his arms, and was fastened to the wall with a chain fixed in it. One night, sleeping amongst other prisoners and the guards, after invoking our Lady and other saints, he slept, and lo! in a dream he saw himself transferred to our monastery; from which, wishing to go out sitting on a horse like a woman, in consequence of the chains, two of our monks, Monegondus and Henry, both his relations, said to him, 'Go not forth, but return, for St. Mary of Heisterbach will deliver you.' At this he awoke, and, doubting whether the vision were true or phantastic, he tried to move his limbs, and found to his great astonishment that both hands and feet were free. While moving the chains, one of the servants awoke, when he tried in vain to replace the ring, and lay still till the servant fell asleep again, when rising up, and having the iron still round one foot, he let himself down by a sheet through the window, and fled. A great cry was soon raised on his escape being discovered. Many followed him with hounds and horses, and he had to lie hid under bushes; but human hands could not take him whom divine virtue protected. Coming to us, he offered the irons on the altar of blessed Mary, and related all that had passed. This was in 1219; and we have all seen the irons *." The next instance is found in the annals of the order of Grandmont. "In the country of Limoges, they say, two nobles, Itherius and Peter, on the road of St. Junian, being captured by a certain soldier, were thrown into a horrible

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* vii. c. 29.

dungeon and kept two months in chains and fasting. They prayed earnestly for deliverance, and on the eve of St. John the Baptist, being miraculously delivered, they arrived at our monastery of Castaneriis, where they reposed three days, being received with exultation and reverence by the brethren. The chains with which their hands were bound were then solemnly suspended over the tomb of St. Stephen, to be a memorial of the miracle for ever*." Again, the redemption of captives by Catholic monarchs may be said to point to Catholicity as the source from which rulers drew the impressions which actuated them when they accomplished it. The king, Don James I. of Arragon, took such an interest in the order of our Lady of Mercy, that at its beginning he gave the first Fathers a quarter of his palace in Barcelona, which formed their first monastery, and the escutcheon of his arms for them to wear upon their habit, as a perpetual witness of his friendship and zeal for the redemption of captives. St. Louis, Charles V., Ferdinand, and Isabella, were all impelled by their faith to co-operate in the same work. I said that this ancient, overgrown, and broken track was once followed by a prodigious crowd of persons, who passing on it could not fail to see the Catholic Church inviting them, as a true mother, to her bosom; and in reference to them, by directing our view a few ages backward, the road of captives forms still one of the great avenues which direct men to Catholicity.

Those that can pity, here may, if they think it well, let fall a tear; the subject will deserve it.

The numbers of sufferers from captivity during ages of the Mahometan power were indeed immense. When Ferdinand and Isabella took Grenada, there were thirty thousand Christian captives in the city. Charles V., on taking Tunis, delivered twenty thousand who had been detained there. By the victory of Lepanto fifteen thousand Christian slaves were delivered. In the curious description of the city and state of Algiers by the Reverend Father Michael Auvry, vicar-general of the congregation of Paris of the order of our Lady of Mercy, written at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it appears that there were thirty thousand slaves, besides blacks, in that territory alone. Italy, Spain, France, and the ships of all nations, furnished a fearful contingent each year. In France, the towns that had most suffered from the calamity of slavery, as Marseilles, Toulon, Castellane, Aix in Provence, and others at a distance, as Nantes in Brittany, and Mas Saintes Puelles in Languedoc, as also the bishops of those dioceses, used to petition the generals of the Order of Mercy to establish convents in

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* Levesque, Annales Ord. Grandimontis, cent. ii.

their respective localities, and the magistrates used to offer ground for the site[*]. In the time of Henry IV., Pierre Matthieu says that there were more than ten thousand Christian slaves chained in the grottoes of Algiers[†]; and he relates the fact, not a little remarkable, that, while Catholicism was ransoming captives, Protestantism was furnishing it with objects for its compassion; for during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. the Moorish seas were infested with English corsairs, as terrible to the French Christians as the Moors themselves; so that the Grand Signor, at the desire of France, had even to remonstrate with the English government[‡].

Though a recent historian affirms that Mahometanism has exhibited a truly philosophical spirit of toleration[§], all that we read of the rage of Diocletian and Valerius, which caused whole cities to flow with the blood of martyrs, does not come near to what the Turks have made the slaves suffer to oblige them to renounce their faith[||]. The Matemores were the subterraneous places in which they confined the captives at night. There was the bourne of the spiritual mysterious journeys of Marina de Escobar, which she so often describes, as when she says—"On the last day of February, 1627, we passed from England to the dungeons of Africa, where the Christian captives suffered incredible afflictions from that barbarous and cruel people. There we gave the spiritual alms which refreshed and strengthened, and consoled them who were, before our arrival, vehemently cast down in deep sorrow[¶]." Yet, however great were the material sufferings, it is affecting to find that one of the bitterest complaints of the poor slaves used to be, that the Sundays and festivals were made days of labour and tears, the Moors giving them the severest work on those days through hatred of their faith[**].

From the year 1190, several gentlemen of the first families of Catalonia had been accustomed to employ their riches and pains to ransom slaves; and they had even formed a congregation, which was so encouraged by the king, Don Alonso II., that he used to call it "his work;" but all private labours of this kind sunk into the shade when the world began to enjoy the influence of the two great orders which the Catholic Church instituted shortly after, bearing the titles of the Trinity and of our Lady of Mercy, a summary of whose annals will occupy us for the

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[*] Hist. de l'Ord. 948.

[†] Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. iv.

[‡] Pierre Matthieu, Hist. de Hen. IV. lib. vi.

[§] Prescott's Ferd. and Isab. ii. 415.

[||] Hist. de l'Ord. de la Mercy, 2.

[¶] Vit. Ven. Virg. Marin. P. ii. lib. ii. c. 14.

[**] Hist. de l'Ord. de la Mercy, 39.

remainder of this road, and prove how directly it must have led multitudes to estimate the divine source from which such supernatural benefits arose to the human race. Of both orders the origin was beyond the sphere of common natural events. Robert, abbot of St. Victor, wrote to Pope Celestin to testify the miraculous vision granted to St. John de Matha, while saying his first mass in the chapel of Maurice, the bishop of Paris, when he elevated the sacred Host, declaring that an angel, in white splendour, appeared to all present, wearing a cross of blue and red, two captives kneeling at his side. "I asked him," says the abbot, "why he had remained in suspense one hour after the consecration?" He replied to me, with great humility and tears, "Vidi visionem beatificam in Eucharistiâ." "I beseech you," adds the abbot, "to have this reckoned among miracles. Given at Paris the kalends of July, in 1193 *." This hour of suspense before the blessed sacrament, and an interval of prayer in the night, passed by another saint while reflecting on the misery he sought to alleviate, accomplished what all the parliaments and national assemblies of the world could never obtain by speeches or votes, by grants or acclamations; and it may be well in passing to notice thus the difference, in the commencement, of things divine by faith, and human by the eloquence or genius of man. The red and blue cross upon the white mantle, worn in consequence of the vision by the Trinitarians, "signified," says Laurentius Ramorensis, "the ardour of charity and the desire to seek celestial things which animated them." Such was the import of "the three colours" as Catholicity employed them. Their arms were the shield of France with eight golden fleurs-de-lis, and supported by two white stags. Their head house was in Paris, but James de Vitriacus says that the superior of the order resided at Marseilles. In England they were called the Order of Captives, in France the Order of Mathurins, in Spain the Order of Hospitality, the latter work of mercy being practised by them to a great extent †. Among its first Fathers, under St. John of Matha and St. Felix of Valois, were John of London, a doctor of Sorbonne, William Scotus of Oxford, also a doctor of Sorbonne, Petrus Corbellinus, James Sournier, and Roger Leprosus. The order of our Lady of Mercy arose about the same time, its founders being St. Peter Nolasco, of a noble house near Carcassonne, St. Raymond of Pennafort, and James I., king of Aragon. The order found it necessary to command the Fathers never to leave their convents without having on their habit the arms of Aragon, which the king, James I., had permitted them to wear as a mark of his especial favour. St. Peter

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* Baron Annales Ord. S. Trin. pro Redempt. Captiv. 331.

† Id. 227.

Nolasco had commenced his labours in a private capacity in Valencia, by the ransom, in two visits, of more than six hundred slaves. The order being founded in pursuance of the vision of which every one formerly had heard, St. Peter's thirteen first companions were Guillaume de Bas, seigneur de Montpellier; Arnaud de Carcassonne, son of the Viscountess of Narbonne; his cousin Bernard de Corbaric, Ramon de Montolion, Ramon de Moncada, Pierre Guillaume de Cervelon, Dominick d'Osso, Ramon d'Utrecht, Guillaume de St. Julien, Hugues de Mata, Bernard d'Essonne, Ponces Solares, and Raymond Blanes; being six priests and seven knights. In the lifetime of the founder many gentlemen of France, Spain, Germany, England, Italy, and Hungary embraced the order. The prince, Don Sancho, son of the king of Aragon, received the habit from the hands of its founder. As the numbers increased, St. Peter Nolasco found it necessary to remove from the royal palace. The king with deep sorrow consented; but in order not to lose wholly the consolation of having such holy men under his roof, after granting him the site for his convent, he besought him to leave some of the Fathers for his chaplains in his palace, who might there also further the good work of ransom. St. Peter acceded, and then removed with his community to their first convent in Barcelona, of St. Eulalie, which became the head house of the order. Arnaud Rosignol, the seventh general, elected in 1308, was the last layman who held that office. The knights of this order reckoned amongst them men of the most illustrious origin. Brother Emmanuel Albulrquerque, of that most noble family of Portugal, was one of them. These knights distinguished themselves greatly both by their exhortations and their care of the wounded in the battle of Quesada, when Don John gained such a signal victory over the Moors of Andalusia, for which thanks were solemnly offered to God every year in the convent of Casorla, belonging to the order *.

Heaven, then, by miracles, and in answer to the prayers of saints invoking it, caused these associations to be formed thus. Let us observe who were the men that devoted themselves to obey its high injunctions. Following founders canonized as saints, the Fathers of the Trinity and of our Lady of Mercy were generally holy men thirsting for martyrdom, and often eventually crowned with the glory that their hearts had long desired. Bartholomew Cassanæus, in his Catalogo Gloriæ Mundi, speaks of the Trinitarians as entitled to universal veneration; and Didacus de Hayedo, a Benedictine, in his history of Algiers †, declares that he envies them the excellence of their deeds. Similarly Francisco de Ayala, a Carmelite, breaks forth in their

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* Hist. de l'Ordre de la Mercy, 387.

† Dialog. i. Dec. 18.

praise; as also Laurentius Ramorensis, a Cistercian, in his Mystic Hierarchy[*]. Baron, the Irish Franciscan, writes the annals of the order, which was so well known to the profane world that even Rutebeuf, who maliciously reviles all other institutes, admits that this one is irreproachable—

"Ci at charitei nete et pure;
Bien œuvrent selonc l'Escriture."

James de Vitriacus says, "that of all their goods, in honour of the Holy Trinity, they make three parts, of which one is applied to the redemption of captives; another to assist the poor and infirm, whom they assist at their own convents; and the third is reserved for their own use, to enable them to sustain a poor and sober life. The brethren of the order of the Trinity, say the statutes in 1268, must be especial worshippers and imitators of what they follow, maintaining the most perfect unity—all to be as one; and the most perfect equality, as all brethren; and from them must be expelled the whole wicked or diabolic trinity, which consists in sin of the heart, mouth, and work; the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life: which are opposed to the three vows of religion [†]." No less did this holy character belong to the great Order of Mercy, which was its competitor for the same prize of greatest and most effective pity for the woes of captive men.

On the death of St. Peter Nolasco the king of Aragon put on mourning, and made all his court wear it [‡]. The friendship of four kings had never altered the profound humility of that holy founder. He was honoured as a father by St. Louis, king of France; Don James I., king of Aragon; Don Ferdinand, king of Castille, called the saint; and Andrew, king of Hungary; but the more they honoured him the more did he humble himself in his own eyes. Though general of the order, he used to perform the meanest offices, to carry stones on his shoulders for the new convent of St. Eulalie, and to sweep out the cloister. In ransoming the slaves he never spoke of the service that he rendered them, but he only said that Jesus Christ had sent him to deliver them [§]. By reason of the fourth vow, to give up, on certain occasions, their liberty and lives for the slaves, the Holy See, in 1457, declared that the Order of Mercy is more austere than all others in the Church. "Aliis ordinibus arctior, non immerito potest censeri"—consequently it could not be left for any other [‖]. To estimate, however, the wonderfully varied force of the divine principle which actuated these two orders,

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[*] Tom. iii. lib. 8. § 8.
[†] Baron. Annales Ord. S Trin. 238.
[‡] Hist. de l'Ord. de la Mercy, 78.
[§] Id. 79.
[‖] Id. 384.

we must pause again here to observe, that those who embraced them were not only holy, but learned men, accomplished in all graces that can win the admiration of mankind. In the order of the Holy Trinity many flourished who were prodigies of erudition, as Alphonso de Vilhegas observes*. St. John of Matha himself left several books which he had written; one was a treatise on the miseries of human life, of which his experience among the slaves must have supplied him with a varied knowledge. Some were so consumed by time and worn, that not even could their titles be made out when Baron saw them in the royal monastery of St. Millanus of Cogossa, in the diocese of Calahorra; at which circumstance he expresses surprise, since so many of his loving sons were learned, and esteemers of learning †. The fifty-two Fathers who inhabited the magnificent convent of the Trinity, at Aberdeen, were so distinguished for learning and ability, that crowds used to flock to that city from Ireland, and the most distant parts of England, to be edified by their sermons‡. Rudolph, of the convent of the Holy Cross, belonging to the same order at Hownslow, near London, in 1276, was an English Father renowned also for his erudition and acquirements. Baron furnishes a long list of most eminent scholars among the Trinitarians; but leaving these illustrious men, whom we casually met before in numbers upon the road of the schools, let us observe how gloriously the order of Mercy combined the same graces, shining as much in erudition as in the works of mercy, for which it was more especially instituted. The blessed Father Pierre d'Aymery, fourth general, established four principal colleges for the order to teach philosophy and theology to his monks, in order that they might be better qualified to meet the Moors in argument, when labouring to convert them. These seminaries were at Montpellier, Barcelona, Huesca, and Valencia. From them proceeded a vast number of most illustrious men, great preachers, great missionaries, great counsellors of princes.

When Columbus was departing on his voyage, he applied to the general of the order of Mercy for one of his monks as chaplain and confessor, when Father Solorzano was appointed, as already accustomed to voyages, from his frequent visits to Africa. The Dominicans and all authors admit that it was this order which first planted the cross in the New World; and, as it was the first to expose itself to such dangers, God rewarded its zeal by glorious establishments; for it possessed in America eight great provinces, the fathers having converted an almost innumerable multitude of Indians §. Science, indeed, seemed neces-

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* Toletanæ Eccles. Sacell. 1 Par. Sanctoral. c. 5.

† id. 104.

‡ Baron. 83.

§ Hist. de la Mercy. 416.

sary to the fathers; for on their missions in Africa the Moors were continually proposing subtle questions to attack the truth of our holy faith. In 1515, the order established, in addition to the various others which existed in Spain and the south of France, a college of Mercy in the university of Paris *. When the knights of this order were instituted, among those deputed to go on redemption some learned fathers from these houses were always chosen, in order to assist them in their disputes with the Moors †.

Thus were the men qualified; and it must be acknowledged that the material means employed by Catholicity to carry on and perpetuate this enterprize were not unworthy of the thought, supernaturally inspired, which gave it birth. Let us notice then the convents founded for this purpose, and the privileges which states conferred upon them; for this ancient track leads by many celebrated sites, directing us to the Church by the spectacle of imposing ruins, associated, as the issue will prove, with most affecting and heroic memories. The order of the Trinity alone possessed two hundred and fifty convents, and thirteen provinces, according to their division of Europe. In each convent, it is said by one author, there could only be three priests, three laics, and one procurator; but probably the passage admits of some other interpretation. The first convent of the order, at all events, had land of seventeen leagues in circumference, and four leagues in diameter; on which property there was a cold limpid fountain, called Cervus Frigidus, used by shepherds for watering their flocks; and so named from a white stag that used to come there daily from the forest to drink and bathe. This was at the third stone from Gandulus in the territory of Meaux. Here had lived a hermit from Ireland, named Fiacrius, and here, at the expense of Philip the Second, king of France in 1198, the first convent of the order was built, which became most splendid and illustrious. Here the great nobles of France used to make spiritual retreats during Lent and Advent; and many sent their sons to be educated in it, in order that by conversing with the religious they might be trained to piety. In memory of the white stag, which appeared to bear a cross between its horns when first seen by St. John of Matha and St. Felix of Valois, no one was permitted to hunt deer all through that region; so that they were greatly multiplied, to the delight of the fathers, and of those who approached them ‡. The origin of the convent of the Trinity at Dombar is thus related:—"Gregory Dombar, count of the Marches, had two relations, Patrick and James, who, while at sea, fell into the hands of the Turks. As they did not return, the

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* Id. 426 † Id. 953. ‡ Baron. 14.

count in a dream saw them both coming to him, and imploring help for the sake of the mercy of Christ, and nearness of blood. Next morning the count sent to Aberdeen for a certain John Cumin, a Trinitarian monk, and gave him on his arrival a large sum of money, entreating that he would proceed with it to Algiers and ransom his relations, which, if he did, he promised that he would found an ample monastery of his order. Cumin went, and after eight months brought back the captives safe and sound; whereupon the count gave up to him one of his palaces to be a monastery for his order, and assigned to it all the lands of Mussibburg and Lantown, in which monastery Gilbert Dombar, third son of the count, took the habit, on being rejected by Joanna, daughter of the earl of Galway, whom he had sought in marriage; and there he died in 1248*." In 1230 the Trinitarian order was introduced into Ireland by John Cumin. The first convent was at Atharia, in the diocese of Limerick, which was endowed by the earls of Kildare. "For the first redemption the Earl of Desmond, from whom I am descended," says Baron, "gave all his gold and silver plate, and the countess all her jewels †." Soon after were built the convents of the same order at Dublin, Limerick, Kilkenny, Cork, Drogheda, and Galway, the last also by the Count of Desmond, in all of which flourished men of learning and of great zeal in the work of redemption, besides several holy martyrs, so that the Irish province alone effected sixty-four redemptions, on an average of ninety captives each, which makes a total of six thousand three hundred slaves redeemed by the order in Ireland alone ‡. In 1246 was built the convent of the Trinity in Cambridge; in 1251, that of the same order at Huy, near Liège, dedicated under the title of St. Leonard, the patron of prisoners, by a nobleman who had been taken prisoner by the Turks in the crusade, and ransomed by monks of the order. But let us observe another house, of which the origin is related in more detail. Geofridus Baro Castri Briensis, along with Petrus Merclerus, duke of Brittany, being in the crusade under St. Louis, fell with him into the power of the Saracens. The Trinitarians, moved by compassion, purchased him from the Turks, and gave him a mule, on which he returned to his country. But he, before arriving at his home, sent a messenger to inform his wife of his appearance, who, notwithstanding this precaution, after seeing and embracing him, expired through joy. Baro on the spot, which was one mile distant from the castle, erected a hermitage or chapel, under the invocation of St. Mary of Compassion. Then, with consent of the order which had purchased it for him, he set the mule free, without saddle or bridle, to graze at its pleasure,

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* Baron. 115. † Id. 138. ‡ Id. 141.

promising that he would build a convent wherever it would stop. The mule ran off, and stood still to feed at a spot, one mile distant from the castle, where Baro erected a noble convent, and richly endowed it, in which he took the habit, and, after living some time holily with the monks, died and was buried. In testimony of this history, Baro is painted on the stained windows with his ornaments as a baron; and near him some monks of the order stand who are about to ransom him when a captive *. With another convent is associated a narrative that long antiquity seems to have obscured. It is thus related :—Gilbert de Essars, a noble who had followed St. Louis to the Holy Land, was taken prisoner along with the king, and afterwards, at a great price and with much difficulty being ransomed by the monks of the Trinity, he was led by them, in company of many others, to be embarked for Christendom. On arriving at the sea-port, many armed Saracens, animated with furious rage, hastened to seize him and lead him back from the ship, threatening him with a horrible dungeon; for they pretended that he had concealed his name, and that they did not know who he was; for that they now discovered it was he who, with a poisoned arrow, had slain one of their principal dukes, named Chaban, most dear to the sultan, and that they were resolved to put him to a cruel death in revenge. To these clamours our men did not know well what to reply; but they did all they could with prayers and offers of money to mollify them. All was in vain; and, as they feared lest the Turks might retain others whom they had paid for, they set sail and returned to France, grieving to leave so illustrious a man in such a position; but, seeing that God alone could deliver him, they turned themselves to prayers, imploring the divine mercy for his safety. Meanwhile he had been praying with great faith and fervour, and had bound himself by vow to raise a convent for the order of the Trinity if he should escape the danger. While sleeping, his deliverance was miraculously effected; and he found himself from Syria transferred to the gate of his own house in Pulteria, where he acquitted himself of his engagement by building the convent according to his vow †.

In general, however, the origin of these convents was some common trait of gratitude or devotion, which is briefly and simply recorded. Thus, in 1254, the Duke of Brabant built the noble convent of the order of the Trinity of the golden valley, Orival, near Nivell, in gratitude for the charity which the Trinitarians had shown his son; for, when taken by the Turks, and unknown to the fathers, he was ransomed by them as a common slave ‡. The convent of the Trinity at Beauvais, was built by a

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* Baron. 187. † Id. 195. ‡ Id. 196.

noble whose father had been taken prisoner in Palestine with St. Louis, and ransomed by the order. The father dying soon after his return, the son, Count Henry, the heir of paternal gratitude no less than of ancestral riches, conjointly with his wife Margarette and his son Philip, built this convent*. The convent of the Trinity at Fontainbleau was founded by St. Louis, who used often to visit it, and to assist at the offices in the choir with the monks, wearing an oblong mantle of linen, which is still preserved, says the historian, with reverence in that convent†.

Similar memories were attached to the convents of the order of our Lady of Mercy, which in Spain were constructed frequently in a style of great magnificence. Thus travellers till lately have visited with deep interest the noble convent of that order in Calatayud, the vast convent under the title of St. Laza, without the walls of Saragossa, and that again built on the site of the ancient castle of El Puig, with its collection of historical portraits, which latter stands in a plain covered with olive trees, a few leagues from Valentia. In all these houses were preserved archives concerning the slaves that each had ransomed; and in every convent a solemn service was celebrated yearly in November, during the octave of the dead, for the repose of the souls of the poor captives who had died among the infidels‡.

Moved by the Catholic religion, kings and people contended in promoting the efficacy of these two orders by the privileges and alms with which they endowed them. Thus Sanchius, infant of Spain, begins his charter of privileges to the order of the Trinity with these words: "I, Sanctus, count of Roussillon, son of Aldefonso, king of Aragon, seeing the visible fruit which the Fathers of the order of the holy Trinity produce in regard to the poor, and to guests, and especially to Christian captives in all places of the barbarous Moors; and because alms weaken the fury of the Lord, and appease it; grant permission to their order to build convents wherever they please§." Nicholas Perez, thirteenth general of the order of Mercy, obtained from the king of Aragon, in 1367, an exemption from the custom-house dues, for all goods of the order transported by it: for the Fathers appointed on missions used to employ a part of the alms in merchandize proper for the country they were about to visit, in order that they might ransom a greater number of slaves‖. In 1449, Don John II., king of Castile, was so moved by what he heard of the sufferings of the slaves in Africa, that he granted to the order of Mercy the fifth part of all the goods of his subjects who died without heirs, and which appertained to the crown by the droit d'aubain, and

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* Baron. 207. † Id. 211. ‡ Hist. de la Mercy, 580.
§ Id. 87. ‖ Hist. de l'Ord. 305.

generally all legacies for pious purposes, of which the object was not specified*. The order of the Trinity used to interfere at times with that of Mercy in collecting alms for the ransom of slaves; but, in general, each of these orders had an exclusive privilege to beg in certain provinces, and not in others; and by the kings of France great privileges and exemptions were conferred on those who were appointed to make the collection for the redemption of captives by the Fathers of the order of Mercy†. The alms furnished to both orders by the devout people of all Europe were immense; and, considering the sacrifices required from those who employed them, such as could be drawn from no other source but divine faith. The convent of the Trinitarians, under the title of the Holy Ghost de Rossos, in Aragon, was the general repository of money sent to that order for the redemption of captives from the provinces of Ireland, Scotland, England, Denmark, France, and Batavia‡. The parents of St. Pierre Nicholas Paschal, on dying, left all their vast possessions to be distributed in three parts: the first to the ransom of Christian slaves; the second to the relief of poor reduced families; the third to deliver prisoners. In 1312, we find such compassion for the slaves, that the women of Spain, in order to ransom them, used to give their necklaces of pearls and jewels to the fathers of Mercy. The corporations of tradesmen in England used to send large sums for the same object; and in that of the ironmongers discovery was lately made of long accumulating wealth, which, since the rise of Protestantism, had been withheld from its destined purpose. The holy see was far from forming an exception to the universal wish in regard to the exaltation and enrichment of these orders. Pope Innocent IV., granting privileges to the order of the Trinity, says, "Moreover, if any brethren of the order, for the sake of collections of alms, or other cause, should come to any city, castle, or village under an interdict, at their joyful approach the doors of the churches shall open for once even to those nominally interdicted; the divine office may be celebrated, and sermons preached in aid of their mission§." Similarly one of the privileges of the order of Mercy, granted by the holy see, was the permission which the fathers possessed of being able, when they returned from a mission, to celebrate mass or to chant the divine office in churches that were interdicted‖.

But it is time now to witness the result of this great movement in favour of the captive Christians; and for this purpose we must follow the fathers to the scene of their labours on the African coast, and observe to what consequences they led, in

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* Id. 378.
† Id. 889.
‡ Baron. 143.
§ Id. 178.
‖ L'Hist de l'Ord. 927.

order that we may be able to read aright this ancient signal, pointing to the truth of the Catholic religion, which, like the trees of the forest, can be judged of by the fruit. In the year 1199, the first monks of this order of the Trinity, on their first visit to Barbary, ransomed in Morocco one hundred and eighty-six Christians, whom they conducted back safe, after touching at Almeria, and thence gaining, in the month of March, Marseilles. The money had been given to St. John of Matha by Pope Innocent III. In 1202, the holy founder, with money miraculously discovered after praying in a church, ransomed in Valentia, which was then in the power of the Moors, two hundred and seven Christians. In 1203, Fathers Gulielmus de Vetula and Gualbert, with the alms which they had collected in Catalonia, delivered, from the Moorish dungeons of the same city, two hundred and eight captives. In 1204, St. John de Matha visited Tunis, and ransomed one hundred and four Christians, whom he led into Rome in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people, while many sung "In convertendo Dominus captivitatem Sion, facti sumus sicut consolati." In 1205, Father Gulielmus de Vetula, with Brother Dominick de Crustano, proceeded to Majorca, whence they ransomed and brought back to Barcelona one hundred and ninety Christian captives. In 1206, Fathers Peter de Beteza and Peter de Corbinis, with alms collected in Catalonia, ransomed in Algiers three hundred and forty captives, whom they led back in triumph. In 1207, Brothers Bernard de Sarriano and Thomas Ilerdensis redeemed one hundred and nine captives in Valentia, whom they led safe to Lerida, entering the town triumphantly. In 1208, Brother Gulielmus de Vetula, having collected great alms in Aragon and Catalonia, redeemed ninety-four captives in Valentia. In 1209 Father Bernardine Zabata redeemed two hundred and nine captives in Murcia, from the Moors. In 1210, St. John de Matha, having paid a second visit to Tunis, ransomed two hundred and twenty bound captives, whom he led safe to Rome; and in the same year Brothers Berenger de Segans and Ferraerius Grait ransomed, in Grenada, one hundred and forty Christians. In 1211, on the 11th before the Calends of October, Brothers Gulielmus Scotus and Thomas Gualter entered Rome leading in triumph one hundred and fourteen captives, whom they had ransomed and brought from Tunis, with alms collected in Italy, France, and Spain. In the same year, Father Peter, minister of Aragon, and Brother Arnold Queral, ransomed, in Murcia, one hundred and twenty Christians. In 1212, Father Hugo, an Englishman, and Gulielmus de Vetula, ransomed, in Almeria, three hundred and nine slaves. In 1216, Brothers Bernard de Sevra and Berenger de Gerona ransomed the same number of slaves, in Grenada. In 1217, Raymund de Orison and Brother Gulielmus de Inneca ransomed, in Algiers, one

hundred and forty captives; while with the alms of James, king of Aragon, fifty-seven men, two clerks, and eight boys were delivered from the Moorish chains in Majorca, by Brothers Peter Romeo and Peter Depuche. In 1219, some brethren from Scotland proceeded to Algiers, and delivered one hundred and eight Christians from captivity. In the same year, Brother Augustin Galganus ransomed forty-two, at Beaze; and, dying of fever shortly after, the delivered captives returned with his dead body to Begnières, which was thence removed to Cordova. Also, in Grenada, three hundred and nine captives were delivered by Brothers Bernard de Sarriano and Dominick de Crustano. In 1220, Brothers Peter de Beteza and John de Consilia delivered one hundred and eighty captives from Moorish dungeons. In 1221, Father Gulielmus de Vetula and Peter of Lerida ransomed one hundred and fifteen captives, in Valentia. In the same year, the convent of Lerida delivered from captivity, in Majorca, fifty-seven men, six boys, one clerk, and eight women. In 1222, Gulielmus Scotus, just before his death, at Baesa, near Cordova, delivered forty-two captives from the Moors; while Brother Arnol Queralt and Bernard Labaza ransomed, in Valentia, three hundred and four captives In 1223, Fathers Petrus de Corbinis and P. Tuneca, prior of Lerida, delivered two hundred and eight captives, in Algiers; and Brothers Marc Chamar and Gulielmus Pont ransomed, in Majorca, two friars of the order of St. Dominick, with twenty-eight men and three women. The same brothers, in 1225, with the alms of Don Nunez, count of Roussillon, redeemed three friars of the Franciscan order, forty laymen, five women, and one boy; and in 1227 they redeemed, in Valentia, twenty-six men, ten women, and seven boys, all prisoners of the Moors. Again, in 1233, we find them delivering, in Algiers, sixty women and twenty boys, with the alms of King James of Aragon. In the same year, Michael, minister-general of the order, delivered three hundred and four captives from the dungeons of the Barbary coast. In 1235, Brothers Gulielmus Pont and Gulielmus Corbera, with the alms of King James, of the bishop of Lerida, and of the abbots of Catalonia, redeemed, in Algiers, three clerks, one hundred laymen, ten boys, and seven women. In 1239, Fathers Arnald Cuyone and Vida Dalmao, with the alms of bishops and abbots, delivered from Moorish prisons one hundred and one laymen, twenty-six women, seven clerks, and six boys. In 1240, Father Robert, provincial of Castile, delivered many Christians. To his personal labours on different occasions, four hundred and eighty-two captives owed their liberty. In 1245, Father Roderic de Penalua delivered three hundred Christian captives. In 1657, Brother John de la Suca, of the convent of Jaen, delivered one hundred and fifty captives. In 1250, Father Ludovicus de Fexa, minister of the convent of Burgos, with other Spanish mem-

bers of the order, delivered four hundred from the dungeons of the Moors. In 1255, Don Fray Pero Juanes, minister of the same convent, delivered first, in the city of Grenada, two hundred and five; and secondly, in the year 1258, in Beaza, three hundred and thirty-nine Christian captives. From 1260, in the course of three years, Father John de Salis, minister of the convent of Burgos, and provincial of Castile, delivered from the prisons of the Moors more than five thousand of the faithful of Christ, whom he led in triumph, as it were, to the celestial capitol. In 1262, Brothers Patrick, William, and John, proceeded from England to Morocco, where they delivered five hundred and ninety captives, whom Brother John led back, his companions choosing to remain. In 1269, Brother Mudolphus, an Englishman, and a great theologian of Cambridge, proceeded to Tunis, with Brother Richard, and after many labours succeeded in delivering three hundred and eleven captives, whom they sent home, remaining in their place as hostages, which led to their martyrdom. Father Ferrerius Grait, the fourth provincial of Aragon, who died this year, 1269, is said to have redeemed in all, by his own labours, two thousand and thirty Christian captives. In 1283, Father Dominick Pardo, of Toledo, delivered from the prisons of Fez, two hundred Christians. In 1286, Brother Antonio de Pliego ransomed two hundred and fifty, in Algiers *.

Such were the fruits of this one order in redeeming Christian captives. From the foundation of the royal convent of the Holy Trinity, at Toledo, till the year 1647, that single house had redeemed from the infidels one hundred and twenty-four thousand and eighty captives, all whose names were preserved in its archives.

I hope that no one grows weary of these figures, which methinks, since Arabs gave them to us, have seldom been so ennobled by the use; let us proceed, then, to count the numbers that were redeemed by the order of our Lady of Mercy, of which the details are given in its great history.

St. Peter Nolasco, in his private capacity, after redeeming six hundred in Valentia, delivered, a few years later, three hundred slaves, with alms given by the king of Castile. On his fourth visit to Barbary, with the money produced by the sale of part of his property, he ransomed three hundred more, after which he remained in hostage to obtain freedom for three hundred women. Finally, having sold his estates in Languedoc, which then constituted the whole of his remaining property, he returned to Valentia with the produce, and ransomed three hundred and twenty slaves. In 1217, he passed to Majorca, and ransomed

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* Baron. Annales, passim.

three hundred more. After the establishment of the order, he ransomed, in Valentia and Algiers, three hundred and eighteen slaves. After the marriage of the king, Don James I. of Aragon, he returned to Valentia, and ransomed two hundred and nine; then, by sending Brother Guillaume de Bas to Valentia, he redeemed two hundred and thirty-three; then, passing to Africa, he ransomed two hundred and nineteen, his companion, Brother Guillaume de St. Romain, remaining in hostage. In 1228, Brothers Guillaume de Bas and Bernard de Corbaria ransomed two hundred and thirty-nine slaves, in Algiers, the latter remaining there as hostage, and after the conquest of Majorca and Minorca by the king of Aragon, suffering cruel treatment in consequence, succeeded finally in ransoming two hundred and sixty-nine more, with whom he returned. Then Guillaume de Bas and Beranger de Cassano, being sent into Andalusia, ransomed there two hundred and twenty-five Christians. The next year, in two redemptions, they ransomed, in Valentia, one hundred and eighty-nine, and then one hundred and ninety-seven slaves. In 1236, the order, by four brethren, ransomed two hundred and eight slaves, at Algiers; then one young gentleman, Guillaume d'Aiguillon, a prisoner in Valentia, having been delivered by the surrender of sixty Moorish prisoners by the king, with the alms given by his parents, in gratitude, the order ransomed, in the same city, one hundred and ninety-two other Christians. In the kingdom of Grenada, by the blessed martyr James de Soto, one hundred and seventy-three Christians were ransomed. In 1238, in Andalusia, Murcia, and Algiers, six hundred and ninety-eight slaves were ransomed. St. Peter Nolasco, then returning in person to Africa, hoping to die for the faith, ransomed there one hundred and eighty slaves. Guillaume de Bas, elected second father-general of the order, in 1249, on the deliverance of the King St. Louis, with the alms he had collected for his ransom, redeemed, in Grenada, one hundred and eighty slaves, amongst whom was a gentleman of the illustrious house of Lara, in whose place he offered to remain as a slave. In 1261, he visited Murcia, and ransomed two hundred and thirteen slaves, and by means of two other Fathers, who remained as hostages, after being sent into Andalusia, he delivered one hundred and ninety-nine Christians. Soon after, with the alms collected for the ransom of the Fathers, he delivered, with them, two hundred and two slaves; then, with the gifts presented by the king Don Alphonso the Wise, the order ransomed two hundred and six slaves at Grenada. Three other redemptions in Africa and Grenada caused the number of captives delivered by this father-general to amount to one thousand four hundred and one. Bernard de Saint Romain, in 1270, elected third father-general, during the three years that he ruled received sufficient alms to

send seven times to ransom Christians, of whom he delivered from chains more than seven hundred. The blessed Pierre d'Aymery IV., elected in 1272 the father-general, ransomed, in Grenada, one hundred and twelve slaves, remained in hostage to deliver twenty others, and was near being put to death by the Moors. During his government, two thousand three hundred and sixty-nine Christians were ransomed by the order in Africa and the Moorish provinces of Spain. Arnaud d'Aymery VI., elected general of the order in 1303, by means of his knights, whom he sent to Asia, ransomed, in the first redemption, one hundred and nine French, English, Catalonian, and Spanish captives. Proceeding himself to Grenada, he delivered two hundred and twenty-three slaves. In 1306, sending Father James de Narbonne to Africa, one hundred and eight Christians were ransomed and brought safe to Barcelona. Just before his death he redeemed one hundred and nine slaves, in Andalusia, whom the Moors most cruelly treated. During the government of his successor, Arnaud Rossignol, seventh general, and the last layman who filled that office, one thousand six hundred and sixty slaves were ransomed in Africa and the Moorish provinces of Spain. Under that of the eighth general, the blessed Raymond Albert, elected in 1317, the number of ransomed slaves amounted to one thousand one hundred and twenty-five. Vincent de Ribera, elected in 1344, the tenth general, who ruled but a short time, sent twice to Africa, where two hundred and thirty-six slaves were ransomed. Dominick Serrano, elected in 1345, the eleventh general, had been sent to Africa by his superiors, where he ransomed one hundred and twenty slaves; and to Grenada, where he delivered sixty at an enormous price. Afterwards in three redemptions, in Africa and Andalousia, under his rule four hundred and forty-three slaves were delivered. Ponce de Barellis, elected in 1348, the twelfth general, in various redemptions ransomed one thousand three hundred and eighty slaves. Under his successor, Nicholas Perez, elected in 1365, the thirteenth general, one thousand four hundred and forty-four Christian slaves were ransomed. James Taust, elected in 1401, the fourteenth general, commenced office by delivering slaves from Oran, Mostgan, and Algiers, as also from Fez and Morocco; the numbers he ransomed amounted to eight hundred and seventy-three. His successor, Antonio Taxal, in various redemptions procured the liberty of one thousand four hundred Christian slaves from the Turks and Moors. Under the government of Bernard du Plan, the sixteenth general, Jacques de St. Laurent ransomed in Africa two hundred and forty Christians. Jacques d'Aimery, the seventeenth general, before his election, had been to Tunis, where he delivered fifty slaves; while general, six hundred Christians were indebted to

his pains for their liberty. His successor, Antonio Dulhan, elected in 1429, succeeded in redeeming six hundred and forty slaves from the Moors of Spain and Africa. Pedro Huete, whom some reckon as the nineteenth general, delivered three hundred and thirteen slaves at Morocco. Pedro Noel Gaver, who is more generally entitled the nineteenth general, commenced office in 1442 by the ransom of three hundred and forty-seven captives; during his government one thousand six hundred and seventy-six slaves were ransomed from the Turks and Moors. The blessed Pedro Lorenzo Campany, the twentieth general, who had been a slave himself during sixteen years in Africa, on gaining his own liberty ransomed two hundred Christians at Tunis; after his return to Spain he ransomed two hundred and ninety-three slaves; and after his election to the office of general of the order he delivered one hundred and eighty more from Africa. Pedro Antonio Morel, elected in 1480, the twenty-first general, began by redeeming three hundred and sixty-five in Andalousia and Africa; after the year 1486 he ransomed more than five hundred in Africa and the Moorish provinces of Spain. His successor, Pedro Urgel, during whose rule the New World was discovered, sent six deputations to Africa, where from seven to eight hundred slaves were ransomed. James de Mata, elected in 1503, the twenty-third general, procured the deliverance of two hundred and ninety-eight slaves in Africa. James de Saint Laurent, elected in 1516, the twenty-fourth general, ransomed four hundred and seventeen slaves. During his rule, Benedict Zapfont, who succeeded him as the twenty-fifth general in 1520, ransomed, in Africa, six hundred and forty-two slaves. Pedro Sorel, the twenty-sixth general, elected in 1535, ransomed, in three redemptions, five hundred and forty-five slaves in Africa, chiefly in Algiers. Under his successor, Michael Puig, elected in 1548, the numbers ransomed from the Turks and Moors, in Africa, amounted to one thousand, four hundred and ninety-six. After the death of Matthias Papiol, in 1569, the twenty-eighth and last perpetual general of the order, and during the rule of the apostolic commissioners, who reduced the term of holding the office of general to six years, one thousand two hundred and eighty-five slaves were ransomed in Africa. Francis de Tornez, elected in 1574, the twenty-ninth general and the first for six years, ransomed five hundred and sixty captives in Africa. Under his successor, Francis Maldonat, elected in 1576, two redemptions took place in Africa, the first of one hundred and twelve, and the second of one hundred and eighty slaves. Francis de Salazar, elected in 1587, the thirty-first general, procured the ransom of five hundred and five slaves, and Francis Zumel, the thirty-second general, elected in 1593, of five hundred and eighty-seven slaves, in Africa, in three

redemptions. During the government of the order by a vicar apostolic, which began in 1600, we find one hundred and sixty-six slaves ransomed, in Africa, by the Fathers John Bernal and Lopez de Ribas, who visited Tetouan, Fez, and Morocco. Alphonso de Monroy, the thirty-fourth general of the order, elected in 1602, during the six years of his government ransomed six hundred and seventy-three slaves in Africa. Under Philippe de Guimeran, elected in 1609, the thirty-fifth general, one hundred and forty-one slaves were ransomed in Africa. Francis de Ribera, who succeeded him in 1615, succeeded in redeeming two hundred and fifty-eight captives. The King of Spain, at that time writing to his ambassador, the Duke of Taurisano, at Rome, charged him to inform his holiness that the Fathers of Mercy during the last fifty years, of the sole province of Castile, had ransomed six thousand Christians in Africa. Under John Cebrian, elected general in 1627, we find fifty slaves in Africa ransomed by the commander of the convent at Paris, and two hundred and fifty by the Spanish Fathers. James Serrano, elected in 1632, the fortieth general, ransomed, in various African redemptions, six hundred and eighty-three slaves. Dalmace Sierra, who succeeded him in 1636, ransomed, in Africa, two hundred and sixty-four slaves by John Molina. Under the rule of Marc de Salmeron, elected general in 1642, the number of slaves ransomed in Africa amounted to one thousand and ten, being chiefly delivered by the celebrated Father Joseph, of Toledo. Antonio Garus, elected general in 1648, effected the deliverance of three hundred and forty-five captives. Under his successor, the forty-fourth general, Udephonso de Soto-Major, the Fathers of France and Spain ransomed seven hundred and forty slaves in Africa. Under John Assensi, the forty-sixth general, elected in 1658, the number of slaves ransomed in Algiers, in one visit, amounted to three hundred and eighty-two; in a second, to one hundred and fifty; and in a third, by the French Fathers, to ninety-six. Under his successor, Joseph Senchez, seven hundred and seventy-nine slaves were ransomed by the Fathers of Spain, in four visits to Africa. Under Pierre de Salazar, forty-seventh general, the Spanish Fathers alone, between the years 1671 and 1675, ransomed at Algiers seven hundred and ninety-nine slaves. Under Sebastien de Velasco, elected in 1676, the forty-ninth general, the French Fathers ransomed seventy-two slaves in the towns of Miquenez, Sate, and Tetouan, in the kingdom of Fez and Morocco. In fine, the chronicles of the order cite the author of the Martyrologium Hispanicum, at the end of his life of St. Peter Nolascus, who records from authentic acts, that in the interval of four hundred and fourteen years, that is, from the year 1218 to 1632, the sacred order of Mercy delivered from the prisons and chains of the Turks and Moors, at the price of many millions,

four hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and thirty-six Christians, whom those infidels had retained in most cruel sufferings, that no human pen could adequately describe. Such were the fruits of this order; in such numbers did they bring captives home; and, ere proceeding farther, let us mournfully ask a short question, Where is human gratitude?

> "Et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti*!"

Zurbaran's white majestic folds have made indeed this order of the Catholic Church dear to some feeling painters; but why is the world now so forgetful, so silent in its regard, leaving us thus to wander, forlorn and solitary, through the forest of life without being able to catch one distant echo in its praise? All men did love it once, not without cause. What cause withholds them then to mourn for it? Poets have lately sung the Corsair; philosophers have written, popular assemblies have yearly inveighed, parliaments have legislated against slavery; but why have all alike passed over in obstinate silence the long series of hooded men who devoted their lives to redeem others from it heroically thus? O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason! But, thanks to heresy and a false bastard knowledge substituted for the education of youth, and an incapacity for understanding the true Catholic motives of all action, "Time hath now a wallet at his back, wherein he puts alms for oblivion, a great-sized monster of ingratitudes; these scraps are good deeds past, which are devoured as fast as they are made, forgot as soon as done." Let us, however, observe more narrowly the Fathers of redemption, following them to the scenes of their dangerous mission, and watching them when actually engaged on it, in order to appreciate with more precision the tender and heroic spirit of sacrifice which the Catholic faith infused into their souls.

On the road of children we remarked, that through regard for their greater spiritual danger the young and the women were always the first chosen among the captives for deliverance. Hieronymus de Mendoza, in his work entitled, De Sinistro illo Sebastiani Regis Bello Mauris illato†, remarks that Brothers Ignatius and Augustin, coming to Fez to redeem the captives, chose to deliver first the boys and girls, and women, who were less able to endure the horrors of captivity. Pope Gregory X., in letters to the people of Genoa, relates a corresponding act of a Trinitarian monk, of which he was an eye-witness when in Syria, before his elevation. "It happens frequently," he says, "that by their hostile inroads the Saracens capture many Chris-

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* Æn. iv. 539.

† lib. ii. c. 9.

tian men, women, and even infants, whom they confine in close dungeons. On one occason, at the instance of a certain Christian knight who had favour in the eyes of the sultan, and through the intervention of certain brethren of the order of the Holy Trinity, who are especially deputed to ransom captives, the same sultan gave orders to deliver the women and children who had been tortured in their prisons, while the men were excluded from his grace*." But for the deliverance of all captives these Fathers laboured with zeal and love; though some might thus from their tender years, or others from their venerable character, have inspired a more sensible compassion.

Among the captives ransomed by the order of Mercy were persons of almost every description. Thus, among those delivered by Alphonso de Monroy, we find the reverend Father Pierre Riboult, a minim and priest, aged twenty-seven, the reverend Fathers Michael Calaph and Joachim Alemany, Dominicans, many young children, boys and girls, also the reverend Fathers Jerome Tafalla and Francis Vidal, monks of the order of the Blessed Trinity, Brother Fiol, a Franciscan, and the reverend Father Michael Viescas, a Carmelite, the latter dying in Algiers before he could be removed, in consequence of the tortures he had endured rather than apostatize. In addition, many secular priests and other persons of all nations were then delivered, though the alms for their ransom had been collected exclusively in Spain†. In general the names, age, and country of each slave may be read in the chronicles of the rev. Father de Vargas, historian of the order. Under James Serrano many venerable friars of St. Francis and St. Dominick were delivered. The Fathers employed could not retain their tears on seeing these ministers of Jesus Christ, covered with rags, drawing carts like animals. Nevertheless, they always selected from among the captives those who were most in danger of renouncing the faith‡. Under John Assensi, general of the order, we find, in the catalogue of slaves ransomed, Henry Conforte, an Irish priest, James Bartive, an Irish Dominican, Philip Roch, an Irish Franciscan, twenty-two young children, nineteen women, and many priests and monks and doctors in law, besides captains of vessels. In 1661, Father James Castellar, on the point of embarking with one hundred and fifty captives at Algiers, learned that a Moor of high rank in the town had four children whom he was bringing up as Moors, having purchased them from a Corsair who had carried them off one night from the coast of Catalonia. After great obstacles he obtained leave from the Moor to ransom them, on condition of his remaining in hostage. They were

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* Ap. Baron. Annales, 248.

† Hist. de la Mercy, 620.

‡ Id. 826.

accordingly sent to Spain with the others; and the venerable Father remained a whole year suffering cruel treatment, though the Moor was to obtain four per cent. interest monthly for the price*. Amongst the slaves delivered in 1662, we find ninety-three lay persons, chiefly sailors and obscure citizens. After each redemption it was usual for the vicar-general of the diocese, and for the magistrates of the towns in which the procession of captives arrived, to attest, by a formal document intended for posterity, the accuracy of the catalogue furnished by the Fathers. In the list of French slaves ransomed in 1681, we read of Germain Moüete, who had been a slave eleven years. He has composed a history of his voyage and captivity, published since his return. Some of these men had been slaves twenty years, others only one year. Some had been captured in childhood, and were but youths still on their deliverance; others were in the last decline of life. Bernard Boisset, of Aubagne, in the diocese of Marseilles, had been miraculously preserved, by the protection of the blessed Virgin whom he had invoked, from the rage of fourteen hungry lions, amongst whom he had been thrown by the king of Morocco on the 15th February, 1681. The cruel king sent twice to know the result, offering him life if he would acknowledge Mahomet; but after five hours the lions had not touched him. The slaves who saw him amidst the lions gave a public attestation of this miracle. In 1683, the Chevalier de Choiseul, lieutenant in the French navy, with fifteen men, was captured at sea by the Algerines, who threatened him with a torturing death if he did not renounce the faith. Five of the company were such cowards as to offer to comply. Three times the Turks placed the chevalier with his valet-de-chambre at the cannon's mouth; but the courage of both was insurmountable. They were released finally at the suggestion of a Corsair captain, who feared the result if they should be slain†. Methinks some families owe more to the humble monks, who commemorate a captive, than to kings who sanctioned a minister of state in the use he made of power.

It would be long to listen to the ransomed slaves and to their affecting narratives. The most celebrated men are amongst them. Cervantes was ransomed from Algiers by the monks of the order of Mercy. Shakspear's Othello, recounting the disastrous chances of his life from boyhood, for which Desdemona would give a world of sighs, fails not to tell of his "being taken by the insolent foe and sold to slavery, and of his redemption thence." In 1489, the order delivering one hundred and fifty captives in Africa, amongst them was a young gentleman of Biscay, of the house of

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*Id. 923.

† Id. 998.

the Counts of Onnates, allied to the Salazars, named Ignatius de Guavarra, who on his voyage to Italy had been taken by Algerine corsairs. When his parents heard of his misfortune, they urged their relations, the Salazars, founders of the convent of Bruconne, to use their credit with the Fathers to redeem him. The order, which had great obligations to this illustrious family, charged the redeemers, who were going to Africa, to ransom this youth at any price. On his return his parents, through gratitude, made a present to the order of the celebrated hermitage of our Lady of Aranzazu *. The expense and sacrifices required for the ransom of the captives were prodigious. Thus, for delivering one hundred and fifty-eight prisoners of war in Algiers, Emanuel de Seabra says that the order of the Holy Trinity had to pay 20,000 ducats, and that from Morocco and Fess they ransomed eight hundred and twenty more, at the cost of 40,000 ducats. The order of Mercy had to contend with the same difficulties which Catholicism only could overcome. On one occasion, in order to redeem Guillaume d'Aiguillon, a young Spanish nobleman, who was a slave in Valentia, St. Peter Nolasco found it necessary to procure the king's permission to give up sixty Moors, who had been captured in the Balearic Islands. In 1577, the ransom of one hundred and twelve slaves in Algiers cost 7700 gold crowns of Algiers. On one occasion, one hundred Christians were ransomed with the exclusive alms of the Marquis de Villena, who was so affected by an account of their sufferings, that he enabled the Father Barachona to make this redemption. In 1633, the venerable Father Pedro Ortez de Luyando had to pay 30,000 ducats to ransom one hundred and forty captives in the kingdom of Tetouan. In 1644, the Fathers of Paris had to pay 37,500 francs to ransom one hundred and fifty-two captives at Algiers. One patron, however, on this occasion, obstinately refused to give up his slave, named Yves Lacore Faquelet, aged fourteen, and in order to move them more to make greater sacrifices, he used to treat the poor boy in their presence with great cruelty, so that his face looked like one mass of bleeding flesh ; while he kept saying, " Ransom him, or he shall have a taste of something sharper, unless he denies your Jesus Christ." The Fathers found a man charitable enough to lend them 15 crowns; and for this money, on condition that Father Sebastian Brugiere would remain in hostage, which he did, the barbarous patron gave up the boy †. As it was not easy to raise the sum of 37,500 francs, this Father remained in hostage six years and a half, during which time his life was a continued martyrdom : he was chained in a dark and foul dungeon, and repeatedly submitted to the bastinade. Often they

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* Id. 410.

† Id. 879.

announced to him that the divan had condemned him to be burnt alive for perjury, as the money was not sent over; and he was saved from this fate merely by the avaricious fear of some of the patrons interested. All this time his provision consisted of black bread and water. The French bishops, hearing of his sufferings, published pastorals, demanding alms for his ransom; and at length the Fathers succeeded in delivering him. He returned reduced to skin and bone, and so broken by his sufferings, that he only survived a short time, dying in Paris in 1663. Father Joseph, of Toledo, was celebrated for the numbers that he delivered. He had a singular power in persuading persons to contribute to this charity, and of inventing means for carrying it on. No one could resist the eloquence with which he exhorted the rich to come forward. We must remember, that in general the Fathers intrepidly exposed themselves to the three dangers of shipwreck, capture by corsairs, and pestilence, which so often ravaged the African coasts. In 1654, the Fathers were witnesses to the martyrdom of a penitent renegade, called Pierre Borguin. At the age of seventeen he had been taken at sea by a corsair of Algiers; but some months after his father ransomed him at the price of 480 crowns. Seventeen years after, in 1654, being then aged twenty-seven, he was again taken by a corsair, who sold him at Algiers, where he was treated with such cruelty that his patron prevailed on him to apostatize externally, but without losing his faith. Subsequently he became pilot of a Greek renegade, before whom, at length, he had the courage to avow his sorrow, and his resolution to die for his faith. He was denounced accordingly, and burnt alive, exclaiming,—

> "Maria mater gratiæ,
> Mater misericordiæ,
> Tu nos ab hoste protege,
> Et hora mortis suscipe."

The Fathers heard him, looking on, but they were unable, except by looks, to speak to him. In 1662, the French Fathers, after expending 10,000 crowns in ransoming sixty-five captives, were obliged to pledge themselves to pay 5000 francs, which they distributed among the most necessitous. On another occasion they had to pay 40 crowns for each slave, which sums they were obliged to borrow. In 1668, the Spanish Fathers of the order collected 72,000 francs, with which they ransomed one hundred captives. In 1674, they ransomed fifty-five slaves, for whom they paid 39,667 francs. In 1671 and 1675, the Fathers of Spain redeemed at Algiers seven hundred and ninety-nine captives, and the price which each cost is recorded in the catalogue which contains their names. Thus, Don Gonzalez Diaz

de Chores, of the Canary Islands, cost 672 crowns; Father Nicolas, of Valencia, a Dominican of Lima, 1090 crowns; the Rev. Father Pierre Dominguez, a Carthusian of Cobera, in Aragon, 199 crowns; Don Barthelemy de Vega, and Don Christopher de Montes de Oca, both graduates of the Canary Islands, cost 1782 crowns each; Father Thomas Navarro, a Franciscan, 1092 crowns; Father Charles Maria, a Capuchin of Milan, 672 crowns. Then follows a list of women, of whom the prices varied from 42 to 380 crowns. The men ransomed at the same time, to the number of four hundred and fifty-four, cost a prodigious sum. Antonio Guttiere, of Madrid, cost 2142 crowns; Dominick de la Sierte, of Cadiz, 1512 crowns; the Captain Don Alvare de Ponce Leon cost 1917 crowns; Joseph Valerien, of Teneriffe, 1827 crowns; John Morino Alferez, of Bayona in Galicia, cost 1200 crowns. The lowest price was paid for Don Francis de Espinosa, of Cordova, who cost 314 crowns *.

How many millions must have cost the 490,736 captives ransomed by the order, from its commencement in 1218 to the year 1632, when the French Fathers published their Chronicle?

Though it is a painful interruption, we should pause here a moment to observe, that notwithstanding the generous piety of the vast majority of the faithful in supplying these orders with the means for accomplishing their enterprize, they had, like the founders of all Catholic institutions, certain peculiar difficulties to surmount, which were created for them by some thoughtless or avaricious men, who are never wanting to furnish the obstacles which faith only can permanently overcome.

In 1567, when the order of Mercy was about to establish, for the first time, a convent in Madrid, when the chapel was built, and the first mass said, the Father Provincial was surprised to see the officers of justice, who came to signify to him the opposition of the curates of St. Just, St. Sebastian, and the Holy Cross, who would have driven them out by violence, if they had not been protected by the soldiers of the guard, and finally by the king himself †. Father Berenger Cantul, the ninth general of the order of Mercy, who redeemed one thousand three hundred and fifty captives from the tyranny of the Moors, found the curates in some provinces so little moved by the sufferings of the slaves (of which, perhaps, they knew nothing), that they would not suffer his monks to beg in their churches ‡. The bishop of Urgel, in Catalonia, sought to prevent the order from collecting alms in his diocese, and he even attempted to have the commander of the convent of Agramont placed under his jurisdiction. The general, Arnaud d'Aymery, appealed to Rome, and

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* Id. p. 960.

† 459.

‡ 267.

gained his cause. Thus, when the Catholic Church had furnished men to effect the redemption of the captives, and when they proved themselves all that could be desired or conceived, heroic, most devoted—when they had done most—yet must we add an honour,—a great patience, which itself constitutes a signal that points to Catholicity as its source; for where else can be found the faintest imitation of that grace? In fact, all the passions of the world were inclined to oppose these two orders from the first. At the rise of the order of Mercy, complaints were made at court that the nobility, forsaking arms, devoted itself to base employments; that it was a temptation to vice to have leave to beg from house to house; that soldiers would no longer fight with resolution, if they could be sure of ransom after falling into the hands of the infidels; that the money sent out of the kingdom for ransoms exhausted the state, and enriched the Moors; that the hope of being well paid for ransoms would cover land and sea with banditti and pirates. At Barcelona, the directors of the hospitals complained that St. Peter Nolasco, and his companions, engrossed all the alms, and declared that they would close their hospitals if this order had leave to beg through the city *.

But, to return from the conflict of passions to what is wholly admirable. The zeal and generosity of those employed by Catholicity in redeeming captives had to be checked, not excited. In 1276, the general of the order of Mercy represented to Pope John XX. that the Fathers of the convent of St. Eulalie, at Barcelona, through an indiscreet zeal, had alienated all their revenues in order to redeem the slaves in Africa; and that in consequence some of the secular clergy had obtained their lands at a low price †. We find these Fathers, on the death of their parents, giving all the money left by them to different convents of their order, for the ransom of slaves. Notwithstanding the alms of the faithful, it was declared to be notorious, in 1474, that few convents of the order had not contracted heavy debts through the zeal that prompted them to borrow money for the redemption of captives. The venerable Father Peter of Cijar, commander of the convent of Saragossa, had to defend his order from the charge of not applying alms to pious purposes, by citing St. Ambrose, where he shows, that to redeem captives it was lawful even to seize the vessels of the altar. Of a grasping spirit it was impossible to accuse it.

After the expulsion of the Moors from Valencia, the king, Don James I., wished to give the castle of Galinera to St. Peter Nolasco, and his order, but he could not persuade him to accept it. He refused, on the ground of its being too important to the

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* Id. 26. † 158.

state, and of its revenue being too considerable*. In fact, the sanctity of these men found resources of its own, of which the annalist of the Trinitarians gives this instance:—"Father Nicholas, a Frenchman, who governed the order from 1234, was a man so beloved, not only by Christians, but also by enemies, that the Moors used to sell the Christian captives at a less price to him than to any one else. He was dear to St. Louis, who often used to listen to him, and consult with him†." Money, however, be it remembered, was not the only sacrifice required for the success of their enterprise, and furnished by the Catholic faith. Home, country, health, and life itself, were all given up to ransom the captives. Let us oberve the self-devotion of the Fathers of the two orders.

In 1283, Pierre d'Aymery, fourth general, found it necessary to repress the zeal of some commanders of the order of Mercy, who abandoned the government of their respective convents to go on redemption without participation of the order. Those of Seville, Puch, Tarragon, and Geronde, had ransomed, the first, seven; the second, nine; the third, six; and the last, five slaves. He ordered that thenceforth no commander could proceed thus without permission from the general. The division of alms was thus prevented‡.

During the dreadful pestilence of 1348, which carried off great numbers of the Fathers of Mercy, the order never relaxed in its labours to ransom the slaves§. Again, in 1664, though the plague was raging in Algiers, the Fathers of the Redemption went there, and ransomed, in fifty days, two hundred and sixty-one captives, some of whom were lying amidst the corpses of those who had died of the plague ||. Moreover, besides the deliverance of the bodies, the conversion of the souls of captives, and even of their Mahometan masters, was a constant object with the Fathers of both orders, though, when the Moors had any spite against these Fathers, they used to procure them some occasion for preaching, or of letting fall a word against Mahomet, which led to their being put to death infallibly, or tortured. It was in December, 1237, when St. Raymond Nonnatus, being a slave in Algiers, with a ring and padlock in his lips to prevent him from preaching, Pope Gregory IX. conferred on him the dignity of cardinal deacon¶. St. Peter Nolasco, however, on one occasion, while ransoming slaves in the Moorish kingdom of Valencia, made such an impression on the mind of the infidel king, that he renounced his crown, proceeded to Sarragoza, where the saint then was, who continued to instruct, and in fine

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* Id. 105. † 146. ‡ 134. § 298. || 943.

¶ Hist. de l'Ord. de la Mercy, 63.

baptized him, naming him Vincent. His two sons were soon after solemnly baptized, and named Ferdinand and Alonso. They even became knights of the order of Mercy. The austere, holy, modest lives of the Trinitarians, when they first visited Africa, held the Moors in admiration. Their devotion to assist the captives so affected the barbarians, that many of them were converted from the Mahometan superstition and baptized; amongst these the annals of that order mention a simple Saracen shepherd lad, who, in 1201, being suddenly moved by a miraculous vision to embrace the Christian faith, lived long afterwards so as to convert some thousands of his countrymen *. Brother Antonio de Paz, of Salamancha, who spent four years in Tunis, procuring liberty for the slaves and attending to their wants, was dear even to the Moors.

Moreover, the captives in Africa had to be rescued by the Fathers not alone from chains, but also from the vices which so many of them had learned from conversing with the Moors; for of many they say it might be truly affirmed,—" Commisti sunt inter gentes et didicerunt opera eorum †." Henry III., king of England, founded a college for the order of the Holy Trinity at Jerusalem, for English Fathers to preach to the people of Palestine. But the heroic character of the Fathers must not be passed over without furnishing some details to exemplify it. St. Peter Paschal, or Paschasius, of Valencia, a monk of the order of Mercy, and bishop of Jaën and of Baëza, being reduced to slavery in Grenada, whither he had gone to console the slaves, when money was sent twice from his diocese to effect his deliverance, applied it both times to ransom some women and children, and resolved to remain a slave himself for the rest of his days ‡. If the readers of Niebuhr lament that the genius of Horace and Cicero should have immortalized a fiction in regard to Regulus, they will find that the blessed Father Lorenzo, the twentieth general, elected in 1474, had really practised the magnanimous act ascribed to the Roman. This Father remained during sixteen years a slave in Tunis, where he suffered great misery. Don Alphonso V., king of Aragon and Naples, having threatened to make war with the King of Tunis, to secure his coasts from the pirates, the Moorish king, fearing the consequences, desired his slave to proceed to Naples on an embassy, to endeavour to secure peace, but required him to swear that, whatever answer he might receive, he would return. The holy man pledged his word, and proceeded to Naples, where he arrived at the moment of general horror and consternation on the fall of Constantinople. The king, as he fully expected, refused to treat

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* Baron. 39. † Id. 390. ‡ Hist. de la Mercy, 193.

with the infidel prince; and, on expressing his surprise that a monk of the order should have undertaken such an odious mission, the blessed Father assured him that he was moved to do so through fear lest his refusal should have exposed the slaves to worse treatment. He then intimated his intention of returning immediately to take up his chains at Tunis. The king at first refused to grant him permission, informing him that since his arrival he had learned that the King of Tunis had put to death his companion, Father Peter Boffet, and that assuredly the same fate awaited himself if he ever again fell into the hands of the barbarians, after the ill success of his embassy. But the holy man, after weeping for the death of his brother, repeated his supplications for leave to depart, adding, that he felt he was not worthy of a martyr's crown, and that at all events he could not break his word without dishonour to himself and to his whole order; so that, in fine, whatever might be his fate, nothing, he said, should detain him. The king, admiring his heroism, granted him permission; and, with great alms for the captives, he re-embarked for Africa. On his arrival, he related the result of his interview with the King of Naples, which so exasperated the infidel prince, that he ordered him to be thrown into a dark mathemore and loaded with chains. After some time, however, God touched the heart of this king, who had acted rather through fear of his own subjects than hatred of the holy man; he even gave him his liberty, and permitted him to visit, as before, the different mathemores, to console the Christian captives. The murmurs of the Moors caused him, however, such alarm, that he made him embark along with two hundred slaves whom he allowed him to ransom; and with these, after a captivity of sixteen years, he returned safely to Barcelona, where he was solemnly received as a confessor of the faith *.

But it is time to speak of the last act of these heroic Fathers, putting the crown upon their work by martyrdom. The royal convent of the Holy Trinity at Toledo produced many martyrs, as Brother Gaspar de Artadillo, transfixed with arrows at Argil, for preaching the Gospel to the Moors, and confirming captives in their faith; Brother John de Palatio, martyred for the same cause; Brother Antonio Truxillo, at Constantinople, stabbed to death in 1413; and many others. In 1229, when the Saracens took Jerusalem, forty monks of the Trinitarian college there, founded by Henry III. of England, were slain in hatred of the faith. In 1219, Brother Richard, of the convent of Kaneresburg, in the county of Richmond, when employed in the ransom of captives, suffered martyrdom at Tunis, having his head cut off for professing the Catholic faith. In 1223, the order gained

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* Id. 400.

two martyrs—Brothers Robert Victor and Cornelius, both Englishmen, whose veins were cut in Algiers by the Moors, so that they bled to death, on the fifth day before the nones of May. In 1231, Fathers Galeran de Perillas and Peter Dalmao, returning from Algiers with many ransomed captives, were taken by the Moors, and thrown with their captives into the sea. The convent of the order at Atharria, in the diocese of Limerick, produced many martyrs. The registers of the convent enumerate the names of forty who endured great tortures and death, in the lands of the infidels, for the faith. Amongst these, the blessed man, Arthur O'Neal, son of the Prince O'Neal, a great theologian and man of eminent sanctity, who had twice governed the province of Ireland, in the sixtieth year of his age, but still robust, and with only a few grey hairs, proceeded to preach the faith to the infidels, along with two young men of the order, Ferganimus and Patrick, both distinguished preachers, the first thirty-six, the latter thirty years of age. After making many conversions in the East, and declining great honours, to imitate, as they said, the poverty of Christ, they proceeded to the region of Babylon, where they received the crown of martyrdom—the blessed Arthur by fire, the two others being run through with irons, on the calends of September, 1282. Father Geraldus Hubert had gone from Ireland to Jerusalem, where, in the convent of the Trinity, along with his countryman, Murochius, he led a most holy life, until the 6th of May, 1291, when he was beheaded for the faith. Besides these, Gregory Chormac, John Lens, Doctor Redmond, Thadæus O'Higgins, and twenty-seven other Fathers, from the same convent of Atharia, in the diocese of Limerick, suffered martyrdom for the faith, while labouring to redeem the captives*.

In 1237, the impious emperor, Frederic II., having taken prisoners in Italy sixty monks of the order of the Trinity, who had come to Rome at the invitation of Pope Gregory IX., from France, Spain, Ireland, England, Scotland, and Belgium, barbarously put them all to death, by having them cut into the form of crosses through scorn of the religion which they had come to defend†. In 1243, Brothers Rodulph and Berengarius, from monasteries of Scotland and England, having gone to Tunis after giving liberty to sixty captives, were thrown into prison on a charge of being English spies, and then burnt alive on the ninth of September. Again, in 1246, Brother John de Palacio, with two others, Bernard de Monroy and John de Aquila, all of the convent of Grenada, gained the crown of martyrdom. During the reign of Peter the Cruel in Castille, in 1361, the Moors having entered Ubieda and taken the convent of the order

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* Baron. Annales, 142. † Id. 156.

there, forty-two of the monks were put to death by them, and others led in chains to Grenada. In 1250, the Saracens destroyed a convent of the order which had been built by St. Louis, and there fifty-three of the monks were put to death through hatred of the Cross. In 1570, the venerable Brother Marcus, from Anduxar, suffered martyrdom at Peca, six leagues from Grenada. After being stoned he was suspended to a tree, on which he lived three days, praising God and preaching to the people, till he was cut down and his heart torn out. In 1262, Brothers Patrick and William, from England, after delivering many captives at Morocco, remained there through zeal for the salvation of souls, in order to preach to the captives and to the Moors. Having made several converts, they were accused and thrown into a horrible dungeon, when, after being left fifteen days, nearly without food or drink, they were taken without the gates of the city, and on the twelfth day before the calends of August committed to the flames. In 1269, Brother Rudolph, a great theologian of Cambridge, and provincial of the order in England, after procuring the deliverance of many captives at Tunis, for some of whom he remained in pledge along with his companion Richard, was along with him, after imprisonment, beheaded on the nineteenth before the calends of October. Again, in 1271, we find several French monks of the order martyred at Tunis, being burnt alive by the Saracens. These were Brothers John, Peter, William, Richard, Bartholomew, Anthony, Denys, Claudius, Bernard, Anastatius, along with Brother Robert Elphinston, a Scot confessor of King Alexander III. In 1277, Brother John of Burgos, being sent to Grenada to redeem captives, was seized by the Moors, robbed of the money, and led to Almeria, where he was cast into prison and scourged. Finally his throat was cut on the calends of November. His body was redeemed by the Christians at a great price. In 1291, the city of Ascalon, in Syria, being taken by the Saracens, on Friday the eighteenth of May, thirty-four monks of the convent of the Trinity were seized, and after their hands and noses had been cut off burnt alive. Baron's Annals, from which these details are taken, terminate with the year 1297 *; but the history of the rival order will lead us to infer that a record of succeeding years would have only supplied similar triumphs.

Those who have traversed the galleries of the Louvre in late years will have remarked a series of old pictures representing monks in long white vestments, suffering death in various ways, being stoned, burned, embowelled alive, pierced with arrows, or suspended. These paintings by Zurbaran, taken from a Spanish

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* Baron. Annales, &c.

convent, which, because they have no tongue to tell who martyred them, our English visitors to the palace, as I have remarked, while painting near them, are sure to point at as some "victims of the inquisition," represent the holy Fathers of the order of Mercy, who received their crown by the hands of the Moors. In the work of delivering the slaves, this order in fact produced many martyrs, the renown of whose acts is well worthy of being transmitted to all future ages. In the time of St. Peter Nolasco, that is, early in the thirteenth century, the blessed James de Soto suffered glorious martyrdom in the kingdom of Grenada. It was on seeing a master treat his slaves with barbarity that this holy man could not refrain from publicly encouraging them to suffer for Christ. He was immediately seized, and, after a cruel bastinade, thrown into a dark dungeon, where he perished of hunger and misery *. St. Serapion, an Englishman, who had received the habit from the hands of St. Peter Nolasco, suffered in Algiers. After enduring the bastinade for preaching to the slaves, he was fastened naked to a double gibbet, the right arm and the left foot on one, and the left arm and the right foot on the other, after which, being cut into pieces, he expired, praying for the slaves that God would give them patience to endure their sufferings. Shortly afterwards, the blessed Brothers Raymond de St. Victor and Guillaume de St. Leonard, after suffering shipwreck when going to ransom slaves in Africa, proceeded into Andalousia, where they were martyred for the faith of Christ. Still, during the lifetime of the founder, Peter of St. Denis, after having ransomed some slaves, suffered martyrdom at Tunis. Under his successor, the blessed Brothers Ferdinand Perez and Louis le Blanc, of Catalonia, taken by corsairs, were, on their passage to Africa, and for refusing to renounce the faith, thrown into the sea, being tied together with stones round their necks. Soon after, the blessed Brother Thibault, of noble extraction, born in Narbonne in Languedoc, who was converted while visiting the chapel of our Lady of Montserrat, having received the habit at the age of forty-five, was martyred at Tunis, being burnt alive by order of the Moorish king. About the same time Ferdinand de Portalegre, a Portuguese, and Eleuthere de la Place, a French Brother, being taken by a renegade corsair on their passage to Africa, were required to renounce the faith, and on their generous profession were martyred, the first being fastened to the mast and shot to death by arrows, the second beheaded. In 1272, under the third general, the blessed Brother Guillaume de Sagiano was burnt alive in Algiers; and soon after St. Pierre d'Armangole, having remained as a hostage in Bugia in Africa,

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* Hist. de l'Ordre, p. 53.

in place of some children whom he thus delivered, and having converted some Moors to the faith, was hanged by order of the divan. Under the fourth general, the Prince Don Sancho of Arragon, archbishop of Toledo, who was also a monk of the order, was slain by the Moors when he proceeded to defend his flock against them from their invasion; soon after the blessed Brothers Mathias Marquez and Antonio Valerio were martyred at Tunis, the latter being stoned to death by the populace, the former thrown from the top of a tower, his life being offered to the last if he would renounce the faith. Soon after Guillaume de Novelo, the first procurator-general of the order, was martyred in Algiers, not surviving the bastinade which he received for complaining that the slaves whom he had ransomed were not delivered to him according to the agreement. In the year 1300, St. Peter Paschasius, of Valencia, was martyred at Grenada, after having twice applied to the ransom of slaves the money sent for his own deliverance. His head was cut off on the altar on which he had just said mass in the prison. Under the seventh general, the blessed Father Alexander, a Sicilian, was martyred at Tunis, being burnt alive for having reconverted the renegade master of one of the slaves whom he had ransomed. About the same time occurred the martyrdom of the blessed Father Peter, of St. Herman, at Almeria in the kingdom of Grenada, who had his entrails torn out after having the flesh cut from his face in the form of a cross, in revenge for his having preached to the Moors while ransoming the slaves. The martyrdom of Fathers John de Zoroza and John de Güette occurred shortly after. They were stoned, and shot to death with arrows in Grenada, for preaching to the Moors and converting the Alfaqui. Under the eleventh general, Guillaume de Valence suffered a glorious martyrdom in Grenada. The Moors, exasperated at his preaching, rushed upon him, trampled on him, and then, having torn out his tongue, cut off his head. The martyrdom of James of Valencia took place in Algiers under his successor; he was pierced with knives by the Jews for preaching Christ in their synagogue, at the suggestion of a traitor named Isaac, who sought revenge for the blessed Father having complained to the alcade of his bad faith in regard to the ransom of slaves. About the same time the Father Pierre Frances de Sainte Marie was martyred in Tunis, being condemned by the king to be slain by the children of the town, who tore off his beard, put out his eyes with irons, and dragged him through the streets till he expired. The blessed Fathers Simon de Haro and Pierre de Sainte Marie received their crown also about the same time; being taken by corsairs on their return with one hundred and thirty ransomed slaves from Algiers, and having preached Christ to these impious men, they were strangled and

thrown into the sea. Under the thirteenth general, about the middle of the fourteenth century, the blessed Father Peter de Betete was martyred in Grenada; as he shewed a crucifix to some Moors in the suite of the ambassador of Morocco, and exhorted them to embrace our holy faith, a Moor with one blow of a scymetar cut off the arm which held it. The saint without uttering a word picked it up with his left hand, which the barbarian cut off likewise. The blessed man then, in order to protect the crucifix from them, threw himself upon it; upon which the rest fell upon him and cut off his head, the ambassador himself looking on with pleasure at the dreadful spectacle. About the same time also occurred the martyrdom of Arnold d'Arenhs, similarly in Grenada, where he had remained as a hostage for some slaves whose ransom he could not pay. At the end of four months, as no money came to redeem him, his master treated him most barbarously, and, on his refusing all offers of grace if he would renounce the faith, he was killed by blows from a stick, inflicted by his master in the prison. Under the fifteenth general, on the 25th of May, 1416, the blessed Father John, of Grenada, provincial of Castille, and Pierre de Malasang, commander of the convent of Perpignan, were martyred. Being on their passage to Algiers, they were taken by Turkish corsairs, and having loudly exhorted the captain of their vessel not to renounce the faith, as the barbarians required, they were tied to the mast, and pierced with arrows, and then thrown into the sea. Under the sixteenth general, the blessed Father John, of Spain, was martyred in Africa, being slain by an arrow as he preached to the Moors. Bernard du Plan, the general of the order, having heard of his death, felt such affliction at his having lost for himself the occasion of martyrdom, having been long inspired with a wish to proceed to Africa, that he died shortly afterwards. About the same time, the blessed Father Severino was impaled alive at Algiers. Having endeavoured to reclaim a Christian woman who had apostatized, and converted an Alfaqui, being on the point of embarking with the slaves he had ransomed, he was seized, and condemned to that cruel death. Under the eighteenth general occurred the glorious martyrdom of Father Jerome Perez, at Tunis. As he travelled with mules from the place of his landing to reach Tunis, the Moors seized him, and the money for the ransom; they tied him to a tree, and while he preached Christ shot him to death with arrows. In 1452 occurred the martyrdom of the blessed Father Pierre Boffet, at Tunis. He was a Frenchman. Having reclaimed a renegade in the mathemore, the Moors vowed his death; and though protected by the king, who desired to conclude a treaty with Naples, they succeeded, by loading him with chains, and leaving him during four days without food or drink. In the sixteenth

century, under the thirty-first general, the blessed Father Baltazar Velasquez was martyred, in hatred of the faith, by some Morocco bandits, who fell upon him near an hostelry named La Romera, only eight leagues from Saragossa. He was found in the wood with several wounds from lances, having made for himself a cross of branches, before which he had expired.

Besides these martyrs, whose death was occasioned by their labour for the redemption of slaves, the order reckons many others, in America simply as missionaries, as the blessed Fathers John de Vargas, Sebastian de Salazar, Christopher d'Albarrar, Ildephonso Encinas, Dominick Fernandez, and John de Salazar.

But now, returning to those who won their crown from the Moors, let us observe further details respecting some already mentioned. While a number of ransomed slaves were embarked at Algiers, they heard that the Father Severino, who, as we observed, had redeemed them, was made prisoner in the town. So fearful were they of being seized likewise, and again put to the chain, that they constrained the pilot to put to sea; and thus they left the Father in the hands of the Moors, who made him suffer that glorious martyrdom of which we before found the record.

Nothing is more interesting than the life and martyrdom of St. Serapion, whose cruel mode of death has been already described. An Englishman by birth, he came to Toledo in company with the Duke of Austria, when the crusade against the Moors was published by order of Innocent III. He remained in Spain in the army of the King of Castille. One day, seeing pass two Fathers of the order of our Lady of Mercy, he was struck with their aspect, and after conversing with them was moved to embrace their order, and follow them to Barcelona, where he received the habit from St. Peter. He wished to establish the order in England, and being deputed by the founder to proceed thither for the purpose, on his passage between France and England he was taken by corsairs, and after being cruelly beaten thrown into the sea, but so near land that he gained the shore of his country. He proceeded to London, but, in consequence of his entreating the king to have compassion on his people, that tyrant refused him permission to establish the order in England. He then passed into Ireland; but the people, moved by a miracle which he wrought, paid him such honours that he embarked hastily for Scotland, where the king, being exasperated at his free and generous counsel, obliged him to leave without success, and return to Catalonia. A few days after his return, he was sent to ransom slaves in Algiers, where he chose to remain as a hostage for some slaves of other nations, after redeeming and sending to Spain eighty-seven Spaniards with his companion. Exasperated at his having converted some Moors

he was thrown into a dark infected dungeon, and condemned to that cruel death which he suffered with such invincible patience. In the Catalonian and Spanish tongue there are spiritual canticles in his honour, which are publicly sung in the churches *.

But now these triumphant hosts having passed on, who in fame on earth as in eternal joy should live that died in virtue's cause, let us stand still a moment longer to observe an august spectacle presented through an opening of the ancient forest, at which this nearly forgotten track of captives may be said to terminate; for beyond this point there is nothing but the Catholic Church alone, and the solemn echoes of her holy song.

Profane historians extol the triumph of Flaminius, when, having ransomed the one thousand two hundred Roman prisoners whom he found in Greece, he caused them to accompany his train on his return †. Here was patriotism, and fame's eternal dole, for virtue's praise; but safer triumph is the pomp that issues from the bark that has returned with the precious lading of delivered captives of every land, who come bound now with chains of flowers to resalute their country with their tears. The victors here, indeed, are only the Fathers of the two orders walking humbly by their side, clad in their white robes of innocence; but say now, if we even take a Roman author for the judge, what was the glory of the Roman general if compared with the processions of the men of God? "Explica totos fastos," says Valerius, "constitue omnes currus triumphales, nihil tamen morum principatu speciosius reperies." The captives, after being ransomed and conducted back to Spain and France by the monks of the Redemption, used to be received in solemn triumph, formed of a long procession of men, women, and children, who at each town upon the road used to walk through the streets, singing litanies, to the cathedral or parish church, where, after mass or vespers, as the hour might prescribe, the Father who escorted them pronounced some moving homily. What an affecting sight must it have been to witness such a procession!

——— "incedunt victæ longo ordine gentes,
Quam variæ linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis ‡."

On these occasions the people who beheld the spectacle are represented as weeping through pity and admiration. If worldly books keep silence on this theme, there is one history at least in which these Christian triumphs are recorded. There, in the Chronicle of the order of Mercy, we read, that in the year 1601 Father Bernal made a glorious entry into Seville, followed by the hundred and sixty-six Christians whom he had ransomed in

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* Id. 57.

† Plutarch. in Vit. ejus.

‡ Æn. viii. 722.

Africa, "which was a more magnificent sight," adds the venerable author, "than any triumph of the ancient Cæsars when returning laden with the spoils of conquered provinces." The captives used to be attended by persons of the first quality, each conducting two of them, attached with ribands of silk and gold to mark the happy change of their state. During several days they were regaled with a magnificence which only Christian charity could defend from the charge of excess, every one making them a feast.

Again, in 1604, the Rev. Fathers John de Vittoria and Jerome Martel, with two hundred and fifty-four captives, were received on their entrance into Seville, at the gates of the city, by the general of the order, and the two ecclesiastical states, secular and regular, and a prodigious multitude of people, citizens and strangers. The spectacle was more pompous than was ever witnessed at the marriage of the kings, or at the birth of the Infants, of Spain.

In 1615, when two hundred and fifty-eight captives arrived from Africa, there were similar processions in many cities of Spain, the generous Fathers of the Redemption walking with palms in their hands, and the captives wearing the scapular of the order, with their hands bound with silk and golden ribands.

In 1633, when Father Salmeron entered Seville and Madrid with one hundred and forty captives, in the latter city they were received by the chief nobles of the court and the magistrates with extraordinary magnificence. In this procession the admiral of Castille carried with his own hands the banner of the Redemption.

In 1660, the venerable Father Orasco landed at Alicante with three hundred and sixty-two captives, ransomed in Algiers. From that port proceeding to Madrid, they were received with the acclamations of the whole city. After the procession they were entertained during many days magnificently, and there was not one day on which the greatest lords of the court did not serve them at table, through devotion[*].

Catholicity had thus Saturnalia of its own. All are united together in one joyful feast—

> "Parvi, Fœmina, Plebs, Eques, Senatus.
> Libertas reverentiam remisit[†]."

High events these, to behold which, with rejoicing angels, once the trees of all this forest bore men, and never through an arch so hurried the blown tide as the recomforted through city gates returning to their country. Now their story is to be lamented with the pity of the just, and the remorse of but late

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[*] Id. p. 921.

[†] Statius, Sylv. i.

guilty nations. But no memory upon the earth meanwhile can furnish a plainer direction or a knowledge more fraught with terrible responsibility for those who would refuse to follow it to the only source that could yield such charity, and plead involuntary ignorance in their excuse.

And now a sound of holy chants swells over the forest as we leave this ancient road of captives, terminating thus, as we have found, not alone at the Catholic Church, in the mind of all observers, but actually for those who, in times of yore, followed it, at the very portals of her temples, where on entering they might have heard intoned, as at the first vespers of St. John de Matha, the words so beautiful and so appropriate, "Spiritus Domini super me, ad annuntiandum mansuetis misit me ut mederer contritis corde, et prædicarem captivis indulgentiam, et clausis apertionem." The office of the holy founders of these two orders for the redemption of captives may, in fact, be justly cited in conclusion, as indicating the comprehensive view of Catholic truth in regard to the direction given to the intention, both of the Fathers and of the captives themselves, with which this great enterprise of charity was pursued. For thus they sung, borrowing inspired words, "Qui redempti sunt à Domino, revertentur et venient in Sion laudantes, et lætitia sempiterna super capita eorum;" with the response, "Clamemus in cœlum, et miserebitur nostri Dominus, et memor erit Testamenti Patrum nostrorum, et scient omnes gentes quia est qui redimat et liberat populum Dei*." Then they proclaimed the blessedness of such labours, saying, "O beatum virum qui à Domino destinatus fuit captivorum Redemptor, et pauperum consolator;" and singing the verse, "Vir iste pro fratribus animam suam posuit." In the third nocturn the antiphon seems history, "Pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram, sed pro redemptione captivorum dispersit eam;—Desiderium cordis ejus tribuit illi Dominus, ut liberaret pauperem a potente, et inopem cui non erat adjutor." Finally, in the vesper hymn, as if to teach a great spiritual lesson from the facts of material deliverance, these lines were sung:—

"O vera, Christe, charitas,
Succende alumnis pectora
Ut Patris exemplo sui
Redemptiones urgeant.

Nos vinculis, quæ cordibus
Inferre tentat Satanas,
Ut claudat ad cœlum viam,
Jesu Redemptor exime.

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* First Nocturn.

Concede Sancta Trinitas,
Cui consecravit ordinem
Suum Joannes, triplicis
Amare voti compedes *."

The office of St. Felix of Valois was equally expressive; the hymn for the first vespers commemorated the leading incidents of his life, which only divine faith can explain:—

"Stirpe regali satus, et propinquus
Galliæ sceptro, laqueata Felix
Atria, et certos fugiens honores,
Antra subivit.

Incolit sylvam diuturnus hospes,
Cœlitus donec comes est Joanni
Junctus, ut plebis juga mancipatæ
Barbara solvat.

Ergo monstratum celer institutum
Promovet Felix, Triadique sacræ,
Consecrans, Trino pariter colore
Ornat alumnos.

Quos per immanes penetrare jussit,
Gentium tractus, nihil expavescens,
Tela Maurorum, nihil aut hiulca
Ora leonum.

Da pater nullis fidei phasellum,
Concuti ventis, titubare nullos,
Quos ad insanam satagunt tyranni,
Ducere sectam."

In the first nocturn the antiphons were still chiefly an application of inspired texts to the details of his history, proving how well they were fulfilled in him, "Despexit aulas principum, ut soli Deo serviret, et constitutus est ab eo in monte sancto ejus.—In charitate perpetua dilexit eum Dominus, et constituit eum ad redimendos fideles captivos."

The verse and response were simply, "Manum suam aperuit inopi.—Et palmas suas extendit ad pauperem."

But in the third nocturn they joined in a more especial testimony to the nature and object of the order; for then they sung, "Isti sunt viri misericordiæ, qui ambulaverunt in domo Domini cum consensu.—Ut essent unanimes fidelium captivorum redemptores."

At the Benedictus of Lauds they sung, "Ad faciendam mise-

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* Off. prop. S. Joan. de Matha.

ricordiam cum servis suis, redemit eos Dominus, ut sine timore de manu inimicorum liberati serviant illi."

As Sext, the apostolic words which formed the chapter seemed to acquire a fresh signification from the lips of the new messengers who are repeating them, "Certus sum, quia neque mors, neque vita, neque angeli, neque principatus, neque creatura alia poterit nos separare à charitate Dei quæ est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro."

Finally, at the second vespers, the antiphon at the Magnificat supplied an appropriate conclusion, "O beatum virum," they intoned, "qui terrena despiciens, soli Deo placere studuisti, deprecare pro nobis, ut de mundo feliciter triumphemus*."

From this ancient track, ending thus with solemn echoes, we cross now through the forest, again grown silent and obscure, threading our way amidst these decayed, time-worn, and majestic trunks, to regain the tracts of living verdure through which pass the common roads of practical men, following the various professions and estates of ordinary life: and now the impulse visibly extends in widening circles, radiating like light as from some central luminary. Many roads here branch off in all directions, intersecting them, each receiving its sweet beams. The man who follows active life must still choose some one of them; and in the next book we shall observe how surely, whichever it may be that he selects, the track will furnish issues to the Catholic Church, meeting thus at Rome, as formerly, all the great roads of the world met at the Milliar Aureum in the Forum, from which spiritual centre he cannot turn without resisting, either unconsciously or deliberately, the special influence that exists upon it to guide him, and violating, with more or less of responsibility in consequence, some duty and some principle of his nature.

* Off. prop. S. Fel. Valesiis.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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